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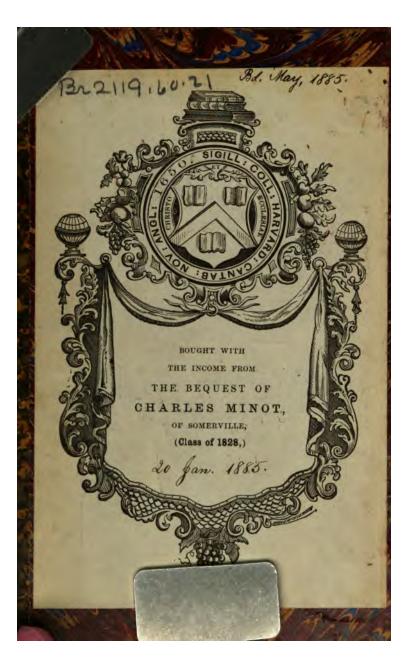
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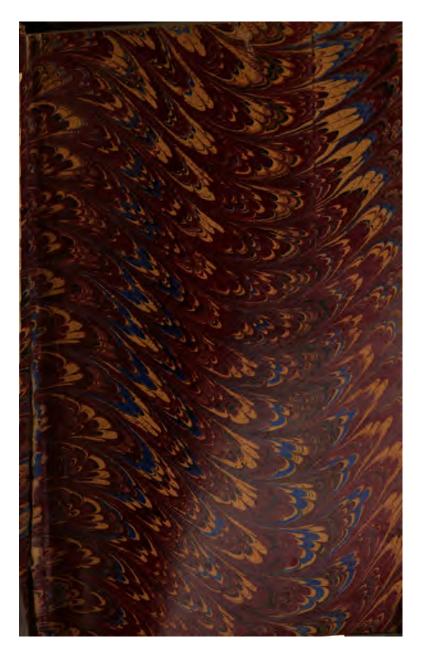
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#### A GENUINE AND TRUE

# JOURNAL

OF THE MOST

# MIRACULOUS ESCAPE

OF THE

### Young Chevalier,

From the Battle of Culloden, to his landing in France.

EDITED BY

EDMUND GOLDSMID, F.R.H.S.

PRIVATELY PRINTED, EDINBURGH.

1884.

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This Edition is limited to seventy-five Large Paper copies, and two hundred and seventy-five Small Paper copies, issued only to Subscribers.

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### E S C A P E

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### Young Chevalier,

From the Battle of *Culloden*, to his landing in *France*.

Taken from the Mouths and Journals of the very Persons who affisted him therein.

Partly wrote in London, and partly in Scotland.

To which is added,

A short ACCOUNT of what befel the Pr. in France, and of the Manner of taking him Prisoner, and of sending him to Avignon.

Together with

A brief RELATION of what became of some of those who composed his Army.

By an Englishman.

LONDON:

Printed for B. A. near Charing Cross. 1749.

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#### PREFACE.

THE following Relation, or Journal of the young Chevalier's Escape, was at first wrote out of curiosity; which I was induced to do, by having so many opportunities of conversing with the chief of the Parties who were instrumental in conducting and assisting him in his escape; for which they were taken, and detained Prisoners for a considerable Time, and were at last dismissed, without ever being examined at the Cockpit, or elsewhere, by Authority of the Secretaries of State. Part was taken from those carried Prisoners to London, and the rest, from those in Scotland; but, after the Pr.'s Return to the Continent of Scotland, on the 6th of July, from the Western Isles, to his embarking for France, is taken from the Rev. Mr. Cameron's Journal, who accompanied him most of that Time. The rest of the Account, in relation to what befel him in France, and to his leaving Avignon, is taken from the best Authorities published. and from private Letters sent to different Places; many of which have not yet been made publick; especially that which gives the manner of taking, detaining as Prisoner, and sending the Pr. out of France.

Thus much I thought proper to premise, in order to convince the Reader, that this Relation is genuine, and not composed of a very few facts, and the rest made up of Falsities and Fiction, the Work of a fruitful Brain; like those Pamphlets intitled, Ascanius, The Wanderer, and The Chevalier; which last is one of the greatest impositions upon the Publick. For this Reason, I have been strongly solicited, by all who have seen my historical Account, to publish it; which I should have done much sooner, had I not waited to see if some abler Writer would favour the World, with giving it a true Relation of that most miraculous and almost incredible Escape: The Truth of which would have been much disputed, had not the different Persons therein concerned been taken into Custody; many of whom told Gen. Campbell the same Story, as is herein very circumstantially related, when they were taken before him in Scotland. All which I have endeavoured to tell in their own Words, as near as I could, without altering their Sense or Meaning.

This I do, without the least Regard to the Censure of the hot-headed Zealots, who make it tantamount to downright Disaffection, to assert that the young Chevalier has not a cloven Foot, or something monstrous about him.

I think it is very extraordinary, that any People can be so weak as to imagine, that personal reflexions, little mean Aspersions, or idle malicious Tales and Insinuations, should be any support to a Cause, or deprive the Antagonists of the least Share of their intrinsick Merit: Or that they should be so blind as to think of getting the better in any thing by Misrepresentation and Lies; which can produce nothing but Errors, and a mean Opinion of the Authors, in the Eyes of all impartial Men of Sense and Judgment. Speaking what is just of a Man, is not approving his Cause; that is entirely his own Affair, in which he acts by the Approbation of his Conscience, and a firm Belief of Right in himself. And no Persons of Moderation or serious Reflexion would ever vilify any Man's Character on that Account, any more than they ought to do that of the Person who opposes him upon the same Principles. Virtue ought certainly to be revered where-ever it is found; and, with how much Reason soever the Claim of the young Chevalur may be obnoxius, it follows not, that his good Qualities should be so too, or that we should deny our Pity for those Misfortunes to which he was born, and fall not on him through his own Misconduct, but that of others. I shall therefore only add, that I have carefully avoided all kind of fulsome Exaggerations, as well as all ungenerous Invectives, Wherefore I hope all will read and judge without Prejudice.



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### A TRUE JOURNAL, &c.



A Fter the Highlanders gave way at the Battle of Culloden, the Pr. was forced off the Field by Major Kennedy and the other Officers, while the French Forces and some few Scots kept the Duke's Army engaged for some time, to prevent any immediate Pursuit.

Many Gentlemen and others went to guard the Pr. safe off; and at some Distance from the Field of Battle a Council was held, in which it was agreed, that all Fitz-James's Horse, and all other Horsemem, should go to Ruthven in Badenoch, except some few. Here it was the Pr. desired the Gentlemen to begin to separate, that their Enemies might not so easily know what Route each of them should take; and accordingly the Hon. Charles Boyd, Esq; second Son of the Earl of Kilmarnock, and some others, kissed the Pr.'s Hand, and went off on their respective Routes.

The Pr. then, with some other Gentlemen, proceeded on his Journey; and the first Place where he stopt, was at *Tordarroch*, about nine Miles from *Inverness*: But, as there was no Person at home, they all went to *Aberardar*, in *Macintosh's* Country, three Miles farther; thence to *Faroline*,

in Lovat's Country, five Miles; and thence one Mile more to Gortulaige, where they met Lord Lovat. and drank two or three Glasses of Wine.

Here Lord *Elcho* took his leave, and set forward for *Kinlochmoidart*; where he arrived a few Days after the Battle; not a little disgusted, that other Officers would not be led by him in every thing.

There came hither with the Pr. Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sir David Murray, (one of the Pr.'s Aid de Camps), Sullivan, Mr. Alexander Macleod, (one of the Pr.'s Aid de Camps, and Son of Mr. John Macleod Advocate), John Hay, (who was Secretary in Murray's Sickness or Absence), Edward Burk, (Alexander Macleod's Servant), Mr. Hay's Servant, and Allan Macdonald, who went as a Guide.

About Ten o'Clock at Night, the Pr. and his few Attendants proceeded on their Journey. They arrived at Glengary, or Invergary Castle, about Four or Five o'Clock in the Morning, and found only one Man there; who said, Glengary and his Family were abroad, and had left no Provisions or Furniture in the House: So the Pr. was obliged to lie on the Floor without any Refreshment.

When Day-light appeared, Edward Burk above mentioned saw a Net; which he drew in the Water, and catched two Salmons; on which they dined very well.

Here all the Company took their leaves of the Pr. and went to Arnaby, except Sullivan, Allan Macdonald, and Edward Burk, whom Mr. Macleod left to be the Pr.'s Guide.

About Two o'Clock in the Afternoon, the Pr. set forward with his three Companions, having dressed himself in *Edward Burk*'s Cloaths; and went to *Donald Cameron*'s at *Glenpean*, in *Lochiel*'s Country, where they arrived about Nine at Night.

On the 18th, the Pr. went to Mewboll, in Clanranald's Country; where he staid all Night, was well entertained, and got some Sleep, which he had not had for five Days and Nights; his Army having been under Arms, marching and countermarching, without Sleep, or much Meat, for forty eight Hours before the Battle.

The next Day, being the 19th, the Pr. waited some Hours in hopes of getting Intelligence of some of his Friends after their Defeat; but hearing nothing, he was obliged to set out on Foot, the Horseroad not only being about, but so bad, as to be scarce, if at all passable. He therefore walked, over almost innaccessible Mountains, to the Glen of Morar, or Kinloch-Morar; and thence to Glen Biasdale, or Boradale, in Arisaig, Clanranald's Country, through as bad Ways as can be conceived. Hither Mr. Æneas Macdonald, the Banker, came to meet the Pr. who had wrote to him for that Purpose; and returned again the same Night to

his Brother's House at Kinlochmoidart. About two Days after this, Lord Elcho, and Oneille, got to Kinlochmoidart.

Here the Pr. waited several Days till Captain Oneille came to him, by Sir Thomas Sheridan's Directions, and told him, that all Hopes of drawing his Troops together again were now over: Upon which he resolved at last to go to the Western Islands, whence he thought that he could get a Vessel to France.

Strong were the Debates about leaving the Continent of Scotland, and going to the Isles. The Highlanders endeavoured to dissuade the Pr. from undertaking so dangerous a Step: But, at last, Sullivan, whose Advice had injured his Master more than once, prevailed upon him to go, asserting the great Probability of getting a Ship there soon, and the great Danger of staying where they were. But the Pr. following this Advice, had like to have lost his Life many ways; as we shall find in the Sequel.

In one Day three several Messengers got to Donald Macleod, who had been with Mr. Eneas Macdonald to the Isles, to fetch some Money from the Isle of Barra, and was returning when the Battle was ended. These three were sent, lest any of them should have missed him. Their Errand was to desire Mr. Macleod would go to the Pr. at Boradale.

Pursuant to this Summons, Donald went; and,

The above Murdoch Macleod was then only fifteen Years old; and when he heard of the speedy Appearance of a Battle, provided for himself a Claymore, a Durk, and a Pistol, and went to the Battle of Culloden; whence he escaped, though hurt; and hunting out the Pr. all the Way, followed him, and here met both the Pr. and his own Father very well.

I can't help remarking here, that the Pr. must have been greatly beloved in this Country, when this Lad could hunt him out so as to find him, and the military Folks never could. So backward were People to tell where the Pr. was, when his Life was in danger.

When they were about to go into the Boat, Donald Macleod begged the Pr. would not go that Night, because it would prove a Storm. But the Pr. was so anxious to be gone, that he was determined to set forwards.

They had not gone far, before the Storm, which Donald Macleod foresaw at a distance, reached them; and was greater than Donald had ever seen before, though always a seafaring Man, on that Coast: but with this additional grief, that it rained most violently all the Time they were out. And, what was still worse, they had neither Pump nor Compass with them; and the Night was as dark as possible, insomuch that none of them knew where they were. This increased their Fears, lest they should be drove on the Isle of Sky, where the

Militia were in Arms. But next Morning, as the Light increased, they discovered they were on the Coast of the Long Isle, (as that Chain of Isles is commonly called here); where, about Seven o'Clock in the Morning, with great Difficulty, they landed at a Point of Land called Rossinish, in the N.E. Part of the Isle of Benbecula, and haled their Boat on Shore to dry Land; having run about thirty Leagues in eight Hours: A most extraordinary quick Voyage. This Isle lies in 57 deg. 40 min. N. Lat. is about five Miles long from East to West, and three broad from North to South, and lies betwixt North and South Uist Islands.

Thus this Storm, which the whole Crew thought a great Misfortune at first, was one of the most providential Things that could befal them: For it prevented any immediate Attempt to follow the Pr. and if any Boats were out, and could get into a secure Place, they would certainly put in, rather than run such an apparent Hazard of being drowned; which nothing but the immediate Hand of Providence could prevent, especially in an eightoar'd open Boat, crowded and overloaded with thirteen People. So ready is the Frailty of human Nature to find fault with what Providence sends as a real Good! At this Time, very lucky for the Pr. the Duke of Cumberland and his Army thought he had sailed for St. Kilda in the North; a Place so remote, that no Suspicion would be readily entertained of the Pr. being there. This Place belongs to the Laird of *Macleod*; and the People there pay their Rents in Feathers of the *Solan* Geese; for which that Laird's Factor goes thither annually. This is so still.

The Duke of *Cumberland*, imagining that the Pr. was gone to St. Kilda, sent Gen. Campbell (Yohn Hay, Commander of a Customhouse-yacht, being Pilot) with as considerable a Force as could be conveyed by the Fleet then present.

On Sight of this Fleet, the inhabitants fled to hide themselves in the Cliffs of Rocks, being terrified, having never seen such a Sight before.

Some of the Forces, being landed, inquired of such of the Inhabitants as they could find, what was become of the Pretender? To whom these poor Creatures replied, That they had never heard of such a Person. They said, indeed, they had heard a Report, that their Laird [Macleod] had lately been at War with a Woman a great Way abroad, but that he had got the better of her: and that was all they knew of the Affairs of the World. So the General then returned re infacta.

The Pr. here, in *Benbecula*, got on Shore into an uninhabited Hut, and helped to make a Fire to warm the Crew, who were almost starved to Death with Cold and Wet. The Storm continued for fourteen Hours after they landed.

Here the Pr. bought a Cow for thirty Shillings, and immediately shot her, and had some of her boiled in the Pot which *Donald Macleod* had bought. After which the Pr. lay down on the Floor, having no other Bed than an old Sail-cloth, and slept very sound; but the Crew were obliged to keep a good Look-out, lest they should be surprised by any Party of Men.

They staid two Nights in this Place; so that on the 29th in the Evening, the Weather being favourable, they set sail about Six o'Clock for Stormway in the Island of Lewis, in N. Lat. 58 deg. 8 min. where Donald Macleod did not doubt but he should be able to procure a proper Vessel to convey the Pr. safe into France. They took some of their Beef with them, and set sail; but, meeting with another Storm, they were obliged to put into the Island of Scalpay or Glass, near the Harris, belonging to the Laird of Macleod, and is about fourteen Leagues North of Benbecula. This Island is about one Mile long, and half a Mile broad.

Here they all went on Shore about two Hours before Day-light on the 30th in the Morning, and passed for Merchants shipwrecked in their Voyage to the *Orkneys*; the Pr. and *Sullivan* going by the name of *Sinclair*; the latter for the Father, and former for the Son; and were well entertained at one *Donald Cambbell's* House, a farmer.

The next Day, May 1. Donald Macleod, so often mentioned, procuring a Boat of his Friend Campbell, went to Stornway with Instructions to freight a Vessel for the Orkneys.

On the 3rd of May, the Pr. received a Message from Mr. Macleod, That a Ship was ready. The next Day, therefore, the Pr. having got another Boat with four Men, landed at Loch-Shefort; where Allan Macdonald took his Leave, and went for South-Uist.

The Pr. then having Oneille, Sullivan, and his Guide, with him, set out on Foot for Stornway, which is about sixteen Miles by Land, and arrived at the Point of Arynish, about half a Mile S.E. from Stornway, on the 5th about Noon; having travelled eighteen Hours on the Hills in a wet stormy Night, without any kind of Refreshment, and were misled by their Guide, either through Ignorance or Design, having conducted them eight Miles out of the Way, when they might have avoided that Trouble by crossing the Ferry from Scalpay to the Harris, which is about a Quarter of a Mile over. This, though they then thought it a Misfortune, yet proved to be the very providential Means of preventing the Pr. from being taken; which, had they arrived there sooner, would have been the Case, as we shall see presently.

From this Place the Pr. sent his Guide to Donald Macleod at Stornway, desiring he would send some Brandy, Bread and Cheese, for they were almost starved and famished. The faithful Donald soon brought it himself to the Pr. and his two Companions on the Moor, all wet to the

Skin, and much wearied with their Journey; wherefore *Donald* took them to Lady *Kildun's* [*Mackensie*] at *Arynish*, to wait there till every thing should be ready for setting sail. Being wearied, the Pr. went to Sleep.

This done, Donald Macleod returned to Stornway; but was greatly surprised to find the Men there rising in Arms, above 200 having already got up. Donald, not knowing what was the Occasion of this Rising, went directly into the Room where the Gentlemen were, who had taken upon them the Rank of Officers, and asked them, "What was the Matter?" On which they immediately began to curse him, saying, "We hear "the Pr. is upon Lewis, and not far from Storm-" way, coming with 500 Men, to burn the Town "and take away our Cattle, &c. and to force a "Vessel from Stornway to carry him to France," Donald replied, "I think you are all mad. Where " the Devil could the Pr. in his present Condition, "get either 500 or 100 Men?" They replied, "That Mr. John Macaulay, a Presbyterian "Minister in South-Uist, had wrote this to his "Father in the Harris; and that the Father had " sent the same to Mr. Colin Mackensie Minister "in the Lewis." "Well then, (says Donald), " since you know the Pr. is already on the Island,

<sup>\*</sup> This Isle of Lewis belongs to Lord Seaforth, and is inhabited by the Mackenzies. (Original Note).

"I own he is; but he is so far from having any "Forces, that he has only two Companions, and, "when I am there, I make a third: And let me "tell you farther, Gentlemen, if Scaforth himself "was here, he durst not (by G—d) put a Hand "to the Pr.'s Breast."

Upon this the *Mackensies* declared, "That they "had no Intention to do the Pr. any, even the "least Harm; or to meddle with him at present "in any shape; but then desired, he might leave "them, and go to the Continent, or any where "else." The Wind being fair, *Donald Macleod* then desired a Pilot; but they refused him one, *Donald* then returned to the Pr. and gave him a full and honest Account how Matters stood; on which they were all at a loss what Step to take. Some proposed to fly to the Moor; but the Pr. replied, "He would not. I'll stand my Ground, "(said he); for, if we fly, our Enemies may be "encouraged to pursue."

Now the Reader may observe, that, had not the Pr. been taken out of the Way eight Miles by the Guide, he would have been in the Town of Stornway when Mr. Macaulay's Letter to Mr. Colin Mackensie arrived; and then the People would have risen upon him, and have eith: r killed him in their Fury, or taken him Prisoner: Both which he thus providentially escaped.

At this Time, the Pr. Oneille, and Sullivan, had only six Shirts amongst them, and were frequently obliged to strip off the wet ones before the others were half dry. Two of the four Boatmen had fled up to the

Moor, upon seeing the People rising at Stormway; and the other two went off to Sea with the Boat.

While they were at Lady Kildun's, they killed a Cow; for which the Pr. would have paid, but she at first refused, till the Pr. insisted upon it. When they left the Place, they took some of the Cow with them, two Pecks of Meal, and Plenty of Brandy and Sugar; and, at parting, Lady Kildun gave Edward Burk a large Lump of Butter. This Man was generally Cook; but the Pr. was the best Cook, and made them a Cake, or Bread, of the Brains of the Cow mixed up with Meal, and baked it upon a Stone before the Fire.

They staid here all Night; and, about Two o'Clock in the Morning, being the 6th of May, the two Boatmen returned with the Boat: And, as soon as Day-light appeared, they got into the Boat, and rowed away with only two Boatmen, the other not returning from the Moor.

The Pr. and Company resolved to go, in *Donald Campbell's* Boat, to the *Orkneys*; but the Men would not venture; so they were obliged to steer South, along the Coast-side, hoping to meet with better Success. But they soon espied two *English* Ships; which obliged them to put into a desert Island, called *Euirn* or *Iffurt*, being about half a Mile long, and as much broad; and is twelve

Miles distant from Stornway, and lies a little North of Scalpay or Glass.

At this Place there were some Fishermen, who, taking the Pr.'s Boat to be a Press-boat belonging to the Men of War, ran away, leaving their Fish, Pots, &c. The Fishermen of Lewis dry their Fish here upon the Rock; some of which the Pr. and Company found, and was a Feast for them. The Pr. at first, was going to put some Money, whence he took the Fish, as Pay for them; but recollecting, that it would show the Fishermen, that some Person of Note had been there, and might thereby be attended with bad Consequences, he thought proper to put his Money up again into his Pocket.

They staid on this Island till the 10th, lying in a low pitiful Hut, like a Hog-sty, belonging to the Fishermen; so ill roofed, that they were obliged to spread the Boat's Sail over the Top of it, and lie upon the bare Floor; keeping Watch by turns.

About Ten o'Clock in the Forencon, on the 10th of May, they embarked for the Harris, taking about two Dozen of Fish with them, and got to Scalpay or Glass to their hospitable Farmer's again; and, in that Place, offered Money to some Men for a Boat, it being safer and better than that which they had; but the Men rejected the Offer.

No Wind serving, they thence were obliged to

row: But, about Break of Day on the 11th, the Wind rising, they hoisted Sail, and, wanting Food, made Drammack (in *Erse* Stappack) with salt Water mixed with Meal; of which the Pr. ate heartily. The Pr. then called for a Bottle of Brandy, and gave a Dram to each Person.

Soon after this they were chased by an English Ship commanded by Capt. Ferguson, but made their Escape among the Rocks at the Point of Roudil, in the Harris, in Macleod's Country. The Ship followed them three Leagues. They then kept close on Shore, and sailed to Lochmaddy to the South of Uist; thence to Lochmiskiway in Benbecula; and thence to an Island in that Loch called Loch-Escaby, where they arrived about Four in the Afternoon.

In this Voyage they were within two Musketshot of the Ship before they saw her at Finslay in the Harris: They were to the Windward, and the Ship was in the Mouth of the Bay; so they made all the Haste they could to the Coast of Benba ula.

In this Course they saw another Ship in Lock-maddy in North-Uist. They had scarce got on Shore when the Wind very remarkably turned quite contrary, and blew and rained very hard, and drove the Ships that were pursuing quite off. At this the Pr. said, "I see Providence will not "let me be taken alive this Time."

It being low Water, one of the Boatment went

#### THE YOUNG CHEVALIER.

among the Rocks, and catched a Partan\*, which he held up to show to the Pr. in great Joy. The Pr. then took up a Cog † in his hand, and, running to the boatman, desired to partake of his Diversion, and they soon filled the Cog.

There was no House, Cottage or Hut nearer than two Miles, and that only a poor Hut; whither they resolved to go.

When they set out, the Pr. took up the Cog full of Partans, and marched away with it: But the faithful Donald Macleod soon ran after him, and desired Leave to carry it; but the Pr. would not let him, saying, "If I carry this, Donald, "then every one of the Company will take more or less of our small Baggage, and so it will be more equally divided amongst us; therefore I'll not part with this." And accordingly he carried it.

When they came to the Hut, it was so low that they were obliged to creep into it upon their Hands and Knees: Wherefore Edward Burk was ordered to dig Part of the Ground away to make it easier to get into it.

At this Hut the Laird of Clanranald went to pay his Respects to the Pr. and promised him all the Assistance he could give him to get him safe out of the Kingdom: Towards which his Lady afterwards assisted; for she sent the Pr. six good Shirts, some Brandy and Wine, and every Thing

<sup>\*</sup> A Crab-fish.

<sup>†</sup> A Wooden Pail.

else that was necessary and comfortable; as we shall see in the Sequel.

On the 16th, it was thought proper that the Pr. should remove from this nasty Hut, and go sixteen Miles farther into the Country, as far as the Mountain of Curradale or Coradale, in South-Uist, and there wait till Fortune would be more favourable; having first sent Donald Macleod, in Campbell's Boat, to the Continent of Scotland, with Letters to Lochiel, and John Murray the Secretary, to know how Affairs stood; and Donald was to carry Cash and Brandy back with him to the Pr.

Donald met Lochiel and Murray at the Head of Loch-Arkaig; but got no Money from Murray, who said, "He had none to give, having only sixty Louis-d'ors for himself."

Donald, having received his Letters from Lochiel and Murray for the Pr. purchased two Ankers of Brandy, at one Guinea each, with much Difficulty. "At this Time (says Donald) the Pr. looked upon Murray to have been one of "his honest firm Friends: But, alas! how he "was mistaken!"

Donald immediately returned, and found the Pr. at Coradale where he left him, having been eighteen Days upon this Expedition; but found him in a better Hut, and having two Cowhides placed upon four Sticks, to prevent the Rain from falling upon him when asleep. During

Mactor's Absence, the Pr. diverted and supported himself and Company with Hunting, Shooting and Fishing; for he used often to go down to the Foot of the Hill upon the Shore, and there go on board a small Boat, which was rowed a little Way, and then with Hand-lines catched Lyths, somewhat like a young Cod. The Pr. also used to shoot Deer and other Game.

It is surprising to think that the Pr. could be kept safe above three Weeks in such a Place, when upwards of an hundred People knew where he was, and his Enemies were daily out upon the Scout on all Sides. Both Clarranald and his Brother Boisdale saw the Pr. at Coradale.

The Militia about this Time went to the Island of Eriska, lying between the Islands of Barra and South-Uist, which is about three Miles long and one broad, and is the very first British Ground the Pr. landed at. The Militia, I say, being got thither, obliged the Pr. and Company to think of parting, and shifting their Quarters.

On the 14th of June, the Pr. Oneille, Sullivan, Edward Burk, and his Pilot Donald Macleod, sailed from the Foot of Coradale in Campbell's Boat, and landed in Ouis or Fovaya, an Island lying between South-Uist and Benbecula.

Here they staid four Nights; and, on the 18th, the Pr. Oneille, and a Guide, went to Rossinish, and Sullivan and Macleod were left in Ouia. Here the Pr. staid two Nights; and then received

Information, that the Militia were coming towards Benbecula. On this he found it necessary to get back again to the Foot of Coradale; but he scarce knew what to do, as the Militia-boats had been some Time between Ouia and Rossinish. Donald Macleod and Sullivan, hearing of this, set sail in the Night, and brought the Pr. from Rossinish to Coradale again: But, meeting with a violent Storm and heavy Rain, they were forced into Uishness Point, two Miles and a half North of Coradale, called Achkirside-allich, a Rock upon the Shore; in a Cleft of which they took up their Quarters. This Storm lasted a whole Day.

At night, finding their Enemies within two Miles of them, they sailed again, and arrived safely at Celiestiella; from whence they steered towards Loch-Boisdale; when one on board swore there was a Long boat before them in their Way. and no doubt full of Marines; so would go no farther; although Donald Macleod was positive of the contrary, assuring them, that it was nothing but a little Rock in the Water, which he knew very well, and which had the Appearance of a Boat at a Distance. But yet the Sailors would not believe him. So they returned back again to Celiestiella, and staid there that Night; and next Day got to Lock-Boisdale; where they got the disagreeable News of Boisdale's being made a Prisoner, &c. When they first set out from Coradale for Loch-Boisdale, they espied three Sail

within Cannon-shot of the Shore, by Break of Day; and therefore were obliged to return back again to *Celiestiella*, in *South-Uist*.

One Day, as the Pr. was sailing up and down Loch Boisdale, Donald Macleod asked the Pr. "If he once got the C--n, what would he "do with Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird " of Macleod?"-" Oh Donald! (said the Pr.) " are they not our own People still, let them do "whatever they will? It is not to be imputed as "their Fault what they have done; but it is " altogether owing to the Power President Forbes "has over their Judgments in these Matters. "Besides, (continues he), if ever the K- was "r-d, we should be as sure of them for "Friends as any other whomsoever, they being for "those in Power. I blame indeed (says the Pr.) "young Macleod much more than his Father: "for he was introduced to me in France, and "solemnly promised me all the Service in his "Power; but, when put to the Trial, did not " perform the least Tittle of it."

While they were here, *Donald Macleod* espied two Sail, which he took for *French* Ships, but, they proved to be *English* Men of War; which however gave them no trouble.

Here the Pr. rested some Days, and found himself in a most dreadful Situation; for he had got Intelligence, that Captain *Caroline Scot* had landed at *Kilbride*, within less than two Miles of him. This obliged the Pr. to part from his constant Attendants, Sullivan, his faithful Pilot Donald Macleod, and his Guide Edward Burk, and all the Boat's Crew; keeping only Oneille: And two Shirts was all their Baggage.

When he parted with *Donald Macleod*, it was with a full Resolution to meet again at a certain Place, but by different Roads. *Donald* then went South about; but all the Men left him, except one: Upon which he was obliged to sink the Boat, and shift as well as he could for himself.

The others, after parting with the Pr. staid in the Field two Nights, having only the Sails of the Boat for a Cover. On the third Night, they went farther into the Loch, and rested thereabouts for other two Nights; when they got Sight of some of the Red-coats; which then forced them to the North-side of the Loch.

On the 5th of July, Donald Macleod was taken Prisoner by Allan Madonald of Knock in Sleat, in the Isle of Sky, a Lieutenant; who, at the same Time, took Mr. Macdonald of the Family of Glenaladale, and Mr. Forrest a Romish Priest.

They were carried from Place to Place, and at last to Applecross Bay, opposite to the Isle of Sky; and there put on board the Furnace, Capt. Ferguson. Donald Macleod was immediately carried into the Cabbin, to Gen. Campbell; who examined him very circumstantially.

The General asked him, "If he had been along

"with the young Pretender?"—"Yes, (said "Donald"), I winna deny it."—"Do you know "(said the General) what Money was upon that "Gentleman's Head? No less than 30,000/. "Sterking; which would have made you and your "Family happy for ever."—"What then? (replied "Donald"), what though I had gotten it? I could "not have enjoyed it for two Days; Conscience "would have gotten the better of me: And although I could have gotten all England and "Scotland for my Pains, I would not have allowed "a Hair of his Body to be touched, if I could "hinder it; since he threw himself under my "Care." The General said, "He could not much blame him;" or Words to that Effect.

Donald was conveyed on Ship-board to Tilbury Fort, and thence removed to London; and at last was discharged out of a Messenger's Hands (where he had been a little Time) on the 10th of June 1747; which he said he would ever after celebrate as the Day of his Deliverance.

Edward Burk, after parting from the Pr. went over North-Strand to North-Uist, his native Country; where he skulked in a Hill called Eval, for near seven Weeks; twenty Days of which he had not any Meat, except Dilse and Lampocks. About this Time a Paper had been read in all the Kirks, strictly forbidding all Persons to give so

<sup>\*</sup> A Kind of Shell-fish.

much as a Mouthful of Meat to any Rebel, upon Penalty of making them suffer very severely.—
Thus the Place appointed to preach the Doctrine of *Christ*, was prostituted to prevent any Person from feeding the Hungry, or clothing the Naked, &-c.

After various Distresses, occasioned chiefly by this Order, he at last was obliged to hide himself in a Cave, in *North-Uist*; where he was fed by a Shoemaker's Wife in the Night; and, after various Troubles, is now safe, and carries a Chair at *Edinburgh*; not being excepted in the general Act of Grace.

Donald Macleod says, "That the Pr. never "slept above three or four Hours at a time; and

- " in the Morning called for a Chopin [a Quart] of
- "Water, which he drank off at once; first instill-
- "ing a few Drops out of a little Bottle; which
- "indeed he did, into every thing that he drank."

Thus far, Reader, this Account is taken from the Journals and from the Mouths of both Donald Macleod and Edward Burk in Scotland; which, after it was wrote down, was read to them, and acknowledged to be true and just.

The Pr. having only Oneille with him, now retired to the Mountains; where he lay that Night, being June 18th; and next Day he received Information, that Gen. Campbell was at Bernera, an Island about two Miles long and one broad, lying between North-Uist and the Harris, and belongs to the Macleods.

The Pr. had now military Forces on both the Land Sides of him, and the Sea on the others, without any Kind of Vessel to venture to Sea in securely.

In this Perplexity, Capt. Oneille thought proper to apply to a young Lady called Flora Macdonald; who was gone to her Brother's at Milton, in South-Uist, from the Isle of Sky, to make him a Visit. Here Oneille, having some little Acquaintance with this young Lady, proposed to her to assist the Pr. to escape from thence.

Miss Flora Macdonald is daughter of — Macdonald of Milton, in the Island of Uist, descended from Clanranald's Family. Her Father died when she was but one Year old, and left one Son and her. Her Mother married again to one Hugh Macdonald of Armadale, in the Isle of Sky; and has by him two Sons, and two Daughters. This Gentleman is esteemed the strongest Man of the Name of Macdonald.

Miss Flora is about twenty four Years of Age, of a middle Stature, well shaped, a very pretty agreeable Person, of great Sprightliness in her Looks; and abounds with good Sense, Modesty, Good-nature and Humanity.

Oneille desired this Lady to go along with him to the Pr. and to concert with him, what would be the best to be done. She objected very much at first, for Reasons which she offered. But Oneille convincing her, that the Pr.'s Situation would not

admit, either of his going to her, or of any long Delay; she then at last complied: And taking her faithful Servant Neil Mackechan, originally Maclean, with her, she accompanied the Captain to the Pr. where everything necessary was concerted, and Miss promised to use her utmost to put the Scheme in execution, provided another Method failed, which she then contrived for them: And then she returned to Milton again. promised to get about what she had proposed immediately, and to let Miss Macdonald know the Answer. Oneille tried; but could not bring the other Scheme to bear: So he then went to Milton, to acquaint Miss Macdonald therewith; who ordered him to return back to the Pr. with a Message.

Pursuant to the Plan laid down, Miss Flora set forwards on Saturday, June 21. for Clanranald's House, to get Things necessary for the Pr.'s Disguise, &c. In going to cross one of the Fords, she and her Man Neil Mackechan were taken Prisoners by a Party of Militia, because they had no Passports. She demanded to see their Officer: But, being told he would not be there till next Morning, she asked what his Name was; and then finding he was her Stepfather, she chose to stay there all Night till he should arrive next Day, rather than answer their Questions: So she was carried into the Guard-room, and kept Prisoner till relieved by her Father-in-law; who arrived in

the Forenoon on Sunday, June 22. and was not a little surprised to see Miss Flora in Custody.

Miss Macdonald took him aside, and told him what she was about; and desired a Passport for herself, her Man Mackechan, and for one Betty Burk, a Woman who was a good Spinner; and, as her Mother had a great Quantity of Lint to spin, she also desired a Letter to recommend Betty Burk to her: All which her Father-in-law consented to. And then Miss proceeded on her Journey to Clanranald's House, where she acquainted Lady Clanranald with the Design, who was ready to give all the Assistance in her Power.

Here Miss staid till *Friday* the 27th; during which Time, *Oneille* passed and repassed several times with Messages b-twixt the Pr. Lady *Clanranald*, and Miss *Flora*.

The Time appointed being come, Lady Clanranald, another Macdonald, Miss Flora, and her Man Mackechan, conducted by Oneille, all went to where the Pr. was, at eight Miles Distance; and carried with them the Pr.'s new Dress, and some other things, to serve him in his Voyage; particularly, a Part of a Bottle of White Wine, being all that the military People had left Clanranald. This the Pr. took especial care off, and would not taste one Drop of it, but preserved it for his female Guide.

When they arrived there, the Pr. was in a little Hut or House, assisting in the roasting his Dinner, which was composed of the Heart, Liver and Kidneys of a Sheep, or Bullock, upon a wooden Spit.

Oncille introduced the Pr.'s Visitors to him; where they dined; and, at Table, the Pr. placed Miss Flora on the right, and Lady Clanranald on his left Hand; and all the Company ate very heartily.

Next Morning they heard of Gen. Campbell's Arrival at Benbecula: And soon after, a Servant came in a great Hurry to Lady Clanranald, and acquainted her, "That Captain Ferguson, with "an advanced Party of the Campbell's Men, were "at her House; and that the Captain lay in her "Bed last Night."

This obliged her to return immediately: So, after taking Leave of the Pr. she set forward to her own House; where she was scarce arrived, before Ferguson began to examine her very strictly. "Where have you been?" says he. She replied, "To see a Child that has been sick, "but is now better again." The Captain asked many more Questions, such as, "Where the "Child lived? How far it was off from thence, "E-c." Lady Clanranald was taken Prisoner soon after, and put on board a Man of War; and her Husband was taken, and put on board another, and conveyed to the Thames; where, after lying some time, they were carried up to London; and detained there, in Custody of a

Messenger; the first, at Mr. Money's; and the latter was, on the 1st of November, taken into the Custody of Mr. William Dick, along with his Brother of Boisdale, Capt. Malcom Macleod, and Roger Macneal of Barra, Esq; In June following, both he and his Lady were dismissed without being asked a Question. At the same time, Mr. Dick brought, from on board of a Ship, John Gordon, Esq; eldest Son of the famous Glenbucket, who was accused of reviewing his Father's Troops, although by the Help of Dr. T——r, he had been quite blind six Years before. He was also discharged in June following, without being asked any Questions.

Lady Clarranald and the other Macdonald being gone, Miss told the Pr. to prepare, for it was time to go. On which Oneille begged hard to go with them: But Miss Flora would on no account consent: because there would be too many of them together, and they might therefore be the more taken notice of. So the Pr. and he took leave of each other in an affectionate Manner.

The Company being gone, Miss Macdonald desired the Pr. to put on his new Attire; which was soon done: And, at a proper Time, they removed their Quarters, and went near the Waterside, where their Boat was nigh at hand affoat, to be ready to embark in, in case of any sudden Attack from the Shore.

Here they arrived in a very wet Condition; and made a Fire upon a Piece of Rock, to keep themselves warm till Night. They had not been there long, before they were alarmed by four Wherries full of armed Men, approaching towards the Shore. At this Sight they extinguished their Fire as fast as they could, and concealed themselves in the Heather. Their Fears on this account were however soon over; for the Wherries sailed by, to the Southward, within Gunshot of where they lay, without ever stopping.

On the 28th of June, about Eight o'Clock in the Evening, they set out in very clear Weather; but had not been gone above a League, before the Sea became very rough, and at last tempestuous. The Pr. finding Miss and the Sailors begin to be uneasy at their Situation, sung them several Songs; among the rest an old Song made many Years ago on Occasion of K. Charles's Restoration. By this, and some merry Stories, the Pr. kept up their Spirits very well.

Next Morning the Boatmen knew not where they were, having no Compass, and the Wind varying several times in the Night, though it was then again calm. At last however they made the Point of *Waternish*, in the west Corner of *Sky*; where they soon tried to land; but found the

<sup>\*</sup>Heath.

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Place possessed by a Body of Forces, who had also three Boats or Yawls near the Shore. Man on board one of these Boats fired at the Pr. and Company, to make them bring to; but they rowed away as fast as they could, being all the Chance they had to escape, because there were several Men of War within Sight; which would inevitably have followed, had it not been providentially very calm, and the Ships were at some Distance. The Militia in the three Boats, for want or Oars, could not pursue; but however they sent up to alarm the People in a little Town not far off. Notwithstanding the Storm, Miss Macdonald was so fatigued, that she fell asleep in the Bottom of the Boat. The Pr. observing it, sat close by her, and watched lest anything should fall upon her, or that any of the Boatmen in the dark should step upon her: But the Sea was so rough she could not sleep long.

They got safe into a Creek, or Cliff in a Rock; and there remained to rest the Men, who had been all Night at Work; and, at the same time, to get some Refreshment. However, as soon as they could, they set forwards again, lest the Alarm given to the Village, should bring down the People upon them: Which would have been the Case had they staid; for they had not gone far, before they observed the People approaching to the Place they had so lately left.

From this Place they went, and landed at

Kilbride in Troternish in the Isle of Sky, about twelve Miles North from the above mentioned Point. In this Neighbourhood there were also several Militia in Search of the Pr. whose commanding Officer, Lieutenant Macleod, was at Sir Alexander Macdonald's, the very House Miss Flora was going to; but she did not know the Officer was there till she saw him.

At the Boat here Miss Macdonald left the Pr. and went with her Servant to Monggestot, the Seat of Sir Alexander Macdonald; but he was not at home, being then with the Duke of Cumberland-Miss sent into the Room to Lady Margaret, Sir Alexander's Lady, to let her know she was come; Miss having before apprised my Lady of her errand, by one Mrs. Macdonald, who went a little before Miss Flora for that Purpose.

Miss was soon introduced into the Room where the Company were; amongst whom was the Commanding Officer of the Forces in that Neighbourhood; who, after some Time, asked Miss, "Whence she came? Which Route she was going? "And what News she heard, &-c." All which she answered as she thought proper, and very readily: So that he had not the least Suspicion, at that Time, of what Miss was about, especially as he saw when she went away, that she had only one Servant with her, who, he was certain, could not be the Pr.

Miss Macdonald, having told Lady Margaret,

where she had left the Pr. and the Situation he was in, my Lady was at a loss what to do; but, as Mr. Macdonald of Kingsborough, Sir Alexander's Steward or Factor, was in the House, she applied to him, and desired he would conduct the Pr. to Kingsborough; which he readily complied with, and sent a Boy down to the Boat, with Instructions to shew the Pr. to a Place about a Mile distant from the Boat; whither he himself would go, and be there ready to attend the Pr. The Boy went off directly; and Kingsborough, taking some Wine and other Refreshment for the Pr. soon after set out for the Place of Rendezvous; leaving Miss Flora with Lady Margaret.

When Miss Flora thought the Pr. and Kingsborough might be got to some Distance, she then made a Motion to go, and ordered her Horses out directly. But Lady Margaret pressed her strongly before the Officer to stay, telling her at the same Time, "That she (Miss Flora) had promised to "stay the next Time she came, when she was last "there." But Miss begged her Ladyship to excuse her this one Time; "because (says she) I "have been some time away, and my Mother is "not very well, and entirely alone in these "troublesome Times." At last Lady Margaret excused her; but only upon renewing her former Promise, to make Amends the next Time she went thither; which Miss very willingly complied with. Every thing being ready, Miss Flora and her Servant, Mrs. Macdonald aforementioned, and her Servant and Maid, all set forwards. They had not gone far before they overtook the Pr. and Kingsborough. Mrs. Macdonald was very desirous of seeing the Pr.'s Face; which he as carefully avoided, by turning it to the opposite Side: But, however, she had several Opportunities of seeing it, as much as he was disguised.

it, as much as he was disguised.

Mrs. Macdonald's Maid could not keep her Eyes off the Pr. and said to Miss Flora, "I think "I never saw such an impudent-looking Woman "as Kingsborough is walking with. I dare say "she is either an Irish Woman, or a Man in "Womens Cloaths." Miss Macdonald replied, "She was an Irish Woman; for she knew her, "having seen her before."—"Bless me, (quoth "the Maid), what long Strides the Jade takes! "and how aukwardly she manages her Petticoats! &c."

Miss Macdonald not liking the Maid's Observations, and knowing they were near the Place where the Pr. and Kingsborough were to turn out of the common Road, and that it was not proper to let Mrs. Macdonald's Man and Maid Servant see which Route the Pr. and Kingsborough took; she therefore called out to Mrs. Macdonald to ride faster; "for (says she) we shall be late out." This was complied with; and they soon lost Sight of the two on Foot; who, presently after, turned out of the common Road, to avoid the Militia, and

went over the Hills S. S. E. till they arrived at Kingsborough's House, which was about Eleven o'Clock at Night, on Sunday, June 29. in a very wet Condition, having had much Rain, and having walked seven long Miles. Miss Macdonald arrived about the same Time along the Highway, having parted with Mrs. Macdonald, her Servant and Maid. Oneille, after parting from Miss Macdonald, went and met Sullivan, who was yet upon the Island: when, about two Days after the Pr. and Oneille had parted, a French Cutter, having 120 Men on board, went to the Isle of South-Uist, intending to carry off the Pr. who they were informed was there. Sullivan went immediately on board: while Oneille went to seek for the Pr. hoping he might meet with him before he and Miss Macdonald should leave the Island. But Oneille finding the Pr. had left the Island two Days before, returned to the Place where he had left the Cutter. But. unhappily for him, the Vessel was gone about three Hours before: For the timorous Sullivan. having a fair Wind, had not Courage to stay, and try to save the Pr. and Oneille: but set sail directly. lest he should be taken, and lose his precious Life. There was two small Wherries, just within Sight; which might indeed, in some measure, excuse Sullivan's Hurry. Both the Wherries were filled with thirty armed Men, which were sent out by an English Officer after this very Cutter; but could

not get near her.

Oneille was soon after taken Prisoner: But, being a foreign Officer, was only a Prisoner of War. He was put on board a Man of War; where, in a little Time after, he saw Miss Macdonald a Prisoner also, for doing what he had been the Instrument of bringing about. He was afterwards conveyed to Berwick upon Tweed; and, after some Time, sent home according to the Cartel. But to return:

When the Pr. got to Kingsborough's House, the Lady Kingsborough, not expecting her Husband home after that Time of the Night, was undressed, and just going into Bed; when one of her Maidservants went up and told her, "That Kingsbo" rough was returned, and had brought some "Company with him."—"What Company (says "the Lady)?"—"Milton's Daughter, I believe, "(says the Maid), and some Company with her."—"Milton's Daughter (replied Mrs. Macdonald) "is very welcome here, with any Company she "pleases to bring; but make my Compliments to "her, and tell her to be free with any thing in the "House; for I am sleepy and undressed; so I "can't see her To-night."

In a short Time, Kingsborough's Daughter went up in as great Hurry as Surprise, crying out, "Mamma! Mamma! my Father has brought "hither a very odd, muckle, ill-shaken-up Wife"

<sup>\*</sup> Tall, tawdry Hussy.

"as ever I saw; nay, and has taken her into the "Hall too."

She had scarce said this before Kingsborough himself went into the Room, and desired his Wife to dress again as fast as she could, and get such Meat as they had ready for Supper.—"Who have "you with you, (says Mrs. Macdonald)?"—"You "shall know that (replied he) in good Time; only "make haste."

Mrs. Macdonald then desired her Daughter to go and fetch the Keys which she had left in the Hall. The Girl went, and soon ran back again in a great Hurry, and said, "Mamma! Mamma! I "can't go in for the Keys; because the muckle "Woman is walking up and down the Hall, and I am afraid of her, [meaning the Pr.]." Mrs. Macdonald then went herself, but "was so frighten-"ed (as she said) at seeing sick a muckle Trollop of a Carling make sick lang Strides through the "Hall, that she did not like her Appearance;" and then she desired her Husband to fetch them; but he would not: So she was obliged at last to go herself.

When she went into the Room, the Pr. was sitting; but got up immediately, and saluted her. Mrs. Macdonald then began to tremble, having found a rough Beard, imagining it was some distressed Nobleman or Gentleman in Disguise; but never dreamed it was the Pr. She therefore went directly out of the Room, with the Keys in her

Hand, to her Husband, without saying one Word to the Pr. and greatly importuned Kingsborough to tell her who it was; and if he [meaning the Person in Disguise] could tell any Thing of what was become of the Pr. Kingsborough smiled at her naming the Beard, and told her, "My Dear, "it is the Pr."—" The Pr.! (cried she); then we "are a' ruined; we will a' be hanged now."-"Houte, (cried he), we will die but once; and, "if we are hanged, for this, we die in a good "Cause, doing only an Act of Humanity and "Charity. But go make haste with Supper; "bring us Eggs, Butter, Cheese, and whatever "Eggs, Butter, Cheese! "else is ready." " (quoth she), what a Supper is that for a Prince!" "Oh Wife! (replied he), you little know how "this good Pr. has lived of late; this will be a "Feast to him: Besides, to make a formal Sup-"per, would make the Servants suspect some-"thing: the less Ceremony therefore the better: "make haste, and come to Supper yourself."-" I " come to Supper! (says she), I know not how to "behave before Maj-y."-"You must come, " (replied Kingsborough); for the Pr. will not eat " one Bit without you; and you'll find it no diffi-"cult Matter to behave before him, so obliging " and easy is he in his Conversation."

I hope the Reader will excuse me for giving this Dialogue in their own Words; not being able to give a better Idea of the Figure the Pr. must have made, and of the Distress he was in, than in their own Way of expressing their Meaning.

At Supper, the Pr. placed Miss Flora at his right Hand, (always paying her the greatest Respect wherever she was, and always rising up whenever she entered the Room), and Mrs. Macdonald at his left. He made a plentiful Supper; eating four Eggs, some Collops, Bread and Butter; drank two Bottles of small Beer at Supper; and then, calling for a Bumper of Brandy, he drank Health and Prosperity to his Landlord and Landlady; and, after Supper, smoked a Pipe. Having been so much afflicted with the Toothach in his Wanderings, he was obliged to smoke, to obtain some Mitigation of his Pain; and he was often obliged to use the same Pipe, till it was as black as Ink, and worn or broken to the very Stump. After drinking a few Glasses of Wine, and finishing his Pipe, the Pr. went to Bed.

When the Pr. and Kingsborough were going from Mouggestot to Kingsborough, the Pr. said, "he proposed going to the Laird of Macleod's, as "being a Place the Government-people would "not suspect." But Kingsborough would not agree to that; and gave some of his Reasons to support his Opinion. "What! (says the Pr.), do "you think that Macleod, to his former Doings, "would add that of thirsting after my Blood?"—"I am not certain of that, (replied Kingsborough), "but I have received a Letter from the Laird of

"Macleod; wherein he desires me to deliver you "up, if you should fall into my Way; and said, "I should thereby do a great Service to my "Country." The Pr. therefore soon dropt that Project. Some time after this, the Laird of Macleod asked Kingsborough for this Letter again: But Kingsborough absolutely refused to give it to him; and farther said, "He would keep THAT, "to shew what Part Macleod acted, under Mac" levd's own Hand."

Kingsborough, amongst other Things, asked the Pr. "If he looked upon Lord George Murray to "have acted a treacherous Part?" and he replied, "He believed not."

Kingsborough also said to the Pr. "That he "[Kingsborough] could not conceive what it was "that made him go that Day to Mouggestot, [Sir "Alexander's House]; for he had no manner of "Business there, nor owed any Visit."—"I'll tell "you, (said the Pr.), you could not avoid going; "for I have been the particular Care of Providence, which sent you thither on my Account, "there being no Person else who could assist me." Both Kingsborough, his Wife, and Miss Flora Macdonald, were particularly asked, Whether the Pr. had the lich, as some of the Scribblers gave

Pr. had the Itch, as some of the Scribblers gave out? And they all declared, they never saw a Person freer from it, not having a Spot to be seen; which they wondered at, considering what he had undergone. After the Pr. was gone to bed, Mrs. Macdonald desired Miss Flora to relate the Pr.'s Adventures as far as she knew of them; which she did: And, when she had concluded her Story, Mrs. Macdonald asked her, "What was become of the "Boatmen who brought them to that Island?" Miss replied, "They went back again directly for "South-Uist."—"That was wrong, (says Mrs. "Macdonald); for you should have kept them "on this Side, for some time at least, till the Pr. "could have got farther from his Pursuers,"

As Mrs. Macdonald conjectured, so it proved: For the Boatmen were immediately seized on their Return; and, being threatened with the Torture, or Death, (both which are absolutely against our Law, but is what we must expect when ruled by those we pay); by these Threats and Torture, I say, the Men revealed all they knew; and gave a Description of the Gown, being a Linen or Cotton Gown, with purple Sprigs thickly stamped, and a white Apron. This Thought of Mrs. Macdonald determined Miss Flora to desire the Pr. to change his Dress, as we shall find presently he did; being himself not willing to march any farther in that Dress, having found it too troublesome the Day before.

This great Feast which the Pr. had got, being the most material Refreshment he had met with for a long Time, agreed so well with him, that he slept nine or ten Hours without Interruption; whereas commonly he seldom required above three or four Hours Rest.

Morning being come and far advanced, Miss Macdonald began to be afraid, lest the Pr. lying too long, should give his Enemies Time to overtake him; and therefore desired Kingsborough to go into his Room, and call him up; who, with much Persuasion, went: But, finding the Pr. in so sound a Sleep, would not awaken him; and so retired quietly out of the Room again. But, every thing being soon after ready for his Journey, Miss Macdonald insisted, that Kingsborough should call him up; with which he complied: And, having awakened the Pr. asked him how he had rested. And the Pr. replied, "Never better in "my Life; for I have not slept in a Bed a long "time before this."

Although the Pr. was to change his Dress, it was thought necessary to leave the House in the same Habit he arrived; because, in case of a Pursuit, it would prevent the Servants from describing the Dress he was to travel in.

When the Pr. had dressed himself, except his Head, the Ladies went into his Chamber to pin his Cap, put on his Apron, and to dress his Head. Before Miss put on the Cap, Mrs. Macdonald desired her in Erse, to ask the Pr. for a Lock of his Hair; which Miss refused to do, saying, "Can't you ask him yourself?" The Pr. finding they were disputing about something, desired to

know what it was; and then Mrs. Macdonald told him her Request, which he immediately granted; and, laying his Head on Miss Flora's Lap, bade her cut off a Lock; which she did, and gave Mrs. Macdonald one Half, and kept the other herself.

The Pr. being dressed, got his Breakfast, took his leave of his Landlady, and then he and Kingsborough, with a Bundle of highland Cloaths under his Arm, went to a Wood-side not far from Kingsborough: and there changed his Dress. being done, the Pr. embraced Kingsborough in his Arms, and bade him a long and happy Adieu: and, in a most affectionate Manner, thanked him for his Services; and assured him he would never forget them. They both wept; and a few Drops of Blood fell from the Pr.'s Nose. Kingsborough then sent a Guide with the Pr. to Portree or Purtree, that is, in Erse, Port-Ree, King's-Port, through all the By-ways; while Miss Flora went on Horseback by another Road, thereby the better to gain Intelligence, and to prevent a Discovery. This Place is seven long Miles from Kingsborough. -The Gown the Pr. had on, was a Linen, or Cotton, having a white Ground, with Purplecoloured Flowers.\*

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Stewart Carmichael, near Leith, had a Stamp made exactly after this Pattern; and has sold great Numbers, so exactly done as not to be distinguished from the Original, even by Miss Macdonald herself.

Kingsborough had sent a Person before, to procure a Boat, and every thing else necessary towards the Pr.'s Escape. The Pr. being arrived safe here again met his female Preservatrix; and this was the last time they saw each other. The Pr. and Miss Macdonald were both very wet; and staid no longer there, than to dry their Cloaths, and to get such little Refreshment as the Place afforded; which took up about two hours Time: And then the Pr. took leave of Miss Flora Macdonald, returning her his sincere Thanks for her kind Assistance; and greatly lamented, that he had not a Macdonald to go on with him to the End.

According to my Method hitherto, I must give the Reader the remaining History of Kingsboroush and Miss Macdonald, before I go any farther with the Pr.

About six or eight Days after the Pr. left Sky, Captain Ferguson followed him in hot Pursuit. And, from the Boatmen who were taken at, or in their Return to South-Uist, having got an exact Description of the Gown and Dress the Pr. had on, pursued to Sir Alexander Macdonald's House, and there searched very strictly; and, hearing only of Miss Flora Macdonald, went to Kingsborough; and there examined Mr. and Mrs. Macdonald, and Mrs. Anne Macalaster their Daughter.

The Captain first found Kingsborough; and asked him several Questions, some of which he answered, and others he either could or would not

answer; and told the Captain he had better ask Mrs. Macdonald, who could give proper Answers. Kingsborough accordingly called Mrs. Macdonald; and said, "That Captain Ferguson was come to "ask her some Questions about her late Guests." —"If Ferguson (says she) is to be my Judge, "then God have mercy on my Soul." Ferguson asked her why she said so? She replied, "Be-"cause the whole World say you are a very cruel, "hard-hearted Man: And indeed I don't like to "go through your Hands."

Ferguson then asked Kingsborough, where Miss Macdonald, and the Person in Womens Cloaths who was with her, lay? Kingsborough replied, "He knew where Miss Flora lay; but as for Ser-"vants, he never asked any Questions about "them."

The Captain then asked Mrs. Macdonald, "Whether she laid the Young Pretender and Miss "Flora in the same Bed?" To which she answered, "Sir, Whom you mean by the Young "Pretender, I do not pretend to guess: But I can "assure you it is not the Fashion in Sky, to lay "the Mistress and Maid in the same Bed to gether."—The Captain then desired to see the Rooms wherein each lay; which were shewn: And he then remarked, that the Room the supposed Maid-servant laid in, was better than that wherein the Mistress lay.

Kingsborough was taken Prisoner, and carried

to Fort-Augustus; and was there plundered of his Shoe-buckles, Garters, Watch, and Money; and, in a few Hours after, thrown into a Dungeon, heavily loaded with Irons. While he was Prisoner, one of the Captains of the English Forces went to him. and asked him, "If he could tell the Pr.'s Head "if he saw it?" Kingsborough, trembling at the Thought of the Pr. being murdered, replied, "He "could not engage for that, unless it was joined " to the Body." Kingsborough was removed hence to Edinburgh Castle, under a strong Guard of Kingston's Light Horse; who entered the City with Sound of Trumpet, and Beat of Kettle-drums: A Thing very uncommon in such a Case. He was at first put into the same Room with Major Macdonald, Mr. George Moir Laird of Leckie, Mr. Thomas Ogilvie, and Mr. Samuel Thom: but was soon after removed into a Room by himself, without being allowed to cross the Threshold; and none were permitted to see him, except the Officer upon Guard, the Serjeant, and Keeper; which last was appointed to attend him as Servant. He was here kept till the Act of Grace; and was then discharged on the 4th of Fuly 1747; having been confined a Year, for giving one Night's Lodging to the Pr.

Kingsborough was once discharged, whilst at Fort-Augustus, by Mistake, for another of the same Name; but Lord Albemarle, finding out the Mistake, soon sent a Party after him, who over-

took him at Sir Alexander Macdonald's, just as he was going to bed. By this means he had an Opportunity of hearing from Sir Alexander's own Mouth, what a Rage a certain Great Officer was in, when he found Kingsborough a Prisoner at Fort-Augustus; what horrid and shocking Oaths and Imprecations he threw out against Kingsborough, for not securing the Pr. and swore, "he would have him hanged at any rate." All which Sir Alexander was a Witness to.

Miss Macdonald, having taken leave of the Pr. left Portree immediately, and went to her Mother's at Sleat, crossed the Country, and had a very fatiguing Journey; but she neither told her Mother, nor any other Person, what Errand she had been about.

One Macleod of Takiskar, an Officer in one of the independent Companies, desired one of the Macdonalds, who lives four Miles from Sleat, to send for Miss Flora, and examine her about what had happened. Accordingly, about eight or nine Days after Miss Flora got home, she received a Message from this Macdonald for her to go to his House as soon as she could.

Miss Flora, being not a little suspicious of the Design, thought proper to communicate to her Friends what she had done, and consult them as to what she should do. Upon which they advised her not to go; at least not to go till next Day: But she was resolved to go; and accordingly set out very soon after.

She had not gone far on the Road, before she met her Father-in-law returning home. To him she told every thing that had happened from her leaving him in her Way to *Classranald*'s House, to that Time; as also what she was then about, and what she intended to say upon Examination.

She had not gone far, after parting from her Father-in-law, before she was taken Prisoner by an Officer and a Party of Soldiers, who were going to her Mother's to search for her. They carried her immediately on board a Ship, without suffering her either to go and get her Cloaths and Linen, or to take leave of her Friends.

She was carried on board the Furnace, Capt. Ferguson; which put her under terrible Apprehensions, on account of that Captain's reputed Inhumanity and Cruelty, which was spread through the whole Country. But, very lucky for her, Gen. Campbell was on board; who gave strict Orders, that Miss should be used with the utmost Civilty and Respect; that she should have a Maid-servant; and that they two should have one of the Lieutenants Cabbins to themselves, forbidding every Person to go into it without her Leave or Consent. This Favour I have heard Miss Flora acknowledge many times.

About three Weeks after she was thus a Prisoner, the Ship being very near her Mother's, Gen. Campbell permitted her to go on Shore to take leave of her Friends, but yet in Custody of

two Officers and a Party of Soldiers; however she was not to speak anything in Erse, nor any thing except what the Officers heard. So she staid about two Hours, and then returned again to the Ship. When she went from home, and was taken Prisoner, she, upon her Examination, told, "That "she had seen a great lusty Woman, who came to "the Water-side as she [Miss Flora] was going "into the Boat; and told her, that she [the sup-"posed lusty Woman] was a Soldier's Wife, and "was left on the Island without Friends, Meat or " Money, and desired that she [Miss Flora] would "give her a Place in the Boat, that she might get "to the Continent of Scotland to her Husband: "and that she [Miss Macdonald] granted the "Request: And that, when they landed in Sky, "she [Miss Flora] went directly to Sir Alexander "Macdonald's; and the lusty Woman went on "her own Way, thanking her [Miss Flora] for the "Favour." This Story Miss at first told: But, when she got to Gen. Campbell, she found the Boatmen who had conveyed her to Sky, were taken, and had told all they knew of the Matter; therefore she acknowledged and told the whole Truth.

Miss Macdonald was removed on board Commodore (now Admiral) Smith's Ship; where she was exceeding well treated, and he was very kind to her: For which, when she was in London, she sat for her Picture at his Request.

The Ship on which she was aboard was some time in Leith Road: And, from that Time being conveyed from Place to Place, she was at last, on November 28. 1746, put on board the Royal Sovereign, lying at the Nore; whence, on the 6th of December following, she was removed to London, in Custody of Mr. William Dick a Messenger, having been five Months on Ship-board. In this Messenger's Custody she remained till July 1747; when she was discharged, without being asked any Questions, and returned to Edinburgh.

This Relation is taken from the Remainder of Oneille's Journal, and from the Mouths of Kingsborough, his Lady, and Miss Flora Macdonald.

Having concluded the History of Kingsborough and Miss Macdonald, I must now return to the Pr. again.

Kingsborough having sent to the Laird of Rasay, to desire his Assistance, Capt. Malcolm Macleod, (who had been an Officer under the Pr. and was at the Battles of Falkirk and Culloden), and Murdoch Macleod, third Son of Rasay, (who was also at the Battle of Culloden, and was there wounded in the Shoulder by a Musket-shot), met the Pr. at Portree in the Isle of Sky, where Miss Macdonald left him. This was on Monday Night, June 30. when it was very dark; having come in a small Boat that would only contain six or seven Men.

They staid but a little Time after their Arrival;

and then they attended the Pr. to the small Boat, wherein John Macleod the young Laird of Rasay was waiting, being desirous of seeing what sort of Man the Pr. was. They set out immediately; there being in the Boat only the Pr. Capt. Malcolm Macleod his Guide, the young Laird of Rasay, and his Brother Murdoch, the two Boatmen, viz. John Mackensie and Donald Macfrier, who had both been out in the Pr.'s Service; the one a Serjeant, and the other a private Man. Early in the Morning on July 1. they arrived safe at Glam in Rasay, being six Miles.\* They staid here two Days and a half, in a mean low Hut; and young Rasay brought the Pr. a Lamb and a Kid in the Corner of his Plaid. They were obliged to lie on the bare Ground, having only a little Heath for a Pillow.

There was a Man went into this Island to sell a Roll of Tobacco: But, after he had sold the Tobacco, he continued strolling up and down the Island, in an idle Way, for twelve or fourteen Days, without having any apparent Business; which made the People of the Island suspect he was a Spy.

When the Pr. and *Malcolm* were in the Hut, the Captain saw this very Man approaching towards them. On which *Malcolm* was determined to shoot him through the Head, to prevent his

<sup>\*</sup> But I must advertise the Reader, that all the Miles I have, or may mention in this Account, are Scots Miles.

going to tell Tales. "No, Malcolm, (says the "Pr. taking hold of him), God forbid that any "innocent Man should suffer by us. If we can "but keep ourselves safe, let us not take that "from any Person, which we can't restore to him "again;" and would not allow the Captain to stir. Malcolm had the more Reason to suspect this Man to be a Spy, because this Hut was not near any Road. But however, luckily for the Man, he passed by without ever offering to look into it; which if he had attempted, Malcolm was determined to have shot him, in order to preserve themselves.

On July 3, the Pr. proposed going to Traternish in Sky, although it blew very hard, and had no other than the small Boat above mentioned; and accordingly set forward about Seven o'Clock in the Evening, having the same Company to attend him.

They had not gone far before the Wind blew harder; and the Crew begged to return back again. But the Pr. encouraged them; and told them, "That as Providence had carried him "through so many Dangers, he did not doubt of "the same Care as before:" And then sang them a merry Highland Song. The Waves washed very frenquently into the Boat, and Malcolm was sufficiently employed in laving the Water out again.

About Eleven o'Clock at Night they landed at

a Place in the Island of Sky, called Nicholson's Great Rock, near Scorobreck in Troternish, being about ten Miles from Glam in Rasay. When they got to the Rock, it was bad Landing; and the Pr. was the third Man who jumped into the Water, and helped to hale the Boat up to dry Ground.

The Pr. had on a great Riding-coat; which being wet through, and the Rock they were going up being very steep, *Malcolm* desired the Pr. to let him carry it: But he would by no means consent; alledging, "he was as able to carry it as "the Captain." They travelled thus to a Byre\* belonging to one Mr. Nicholson, about two Miles from Scorobreck.

Here the Pr. and Company took up their Quarters; and *Malcolm* would have had the Pr. to put on a drier Shirt, and take some Sleep. He would not change his Shirt; but Sleep at last seized him as he sat. He often started in his Sleep; and, sighing deep, would say, "Ah! poor "England! poor England!"

The Pr. after some little Time awakened; and, finding Malcolm upon the Watch, earnestly desired him to take some Rest; who at that Time would not: But, the Pr. renewing his Request again, the Captain thought, perhaps he might want to say something to the rest of the Company

<sup>\*</sup> A Cow-house.

in private; and therefore the Captain went out for a little Time.

The two Brothers and the Boatmen here left the Pr. and returned; the Pr. promising to meet the younger at *Cammistinnawagg*, another Place in the same Island.

The Pr. and *Malcolm* staid here eight Hours in all, without any kind of Refreshment, not even so much as a Fire to dry their Cloaths with.

On the 4th, about Seven o'Clock in the Morning, they left the Byre; the Captain passing for the Master, and the Pr. for the Man, who always carried the little Baggage, whenever they saw any Person, or came near any Village: And at those Times, whenever he spoke to the Captain, or the Captain to him, he always pulled off his Bonnet.

They marched through the worst Ways in Europe, going over Hills, wild Moors and Glens, without halting, till they arrived at Ellagol, or rather Ellighuill, near to Killmaree or Kilvory in Strath; and near to a Place in some Maps called Ord, in the Laird of Mackinnon's Country, and not far from where that Laird lived; having walked twenty four Miles at least.

In their Travelling, the Brandy Bottle was near out, having only one Dram in it; which the Pr. would force *Malcolm* to drink, declaring, "He "wanted none himself;" which *Malcolm* then took, and afterwards hid the Bottle, which he has found since. In their Road, the Pr. said, "Suppose,

"Malcolm, we two should meet any body, who should attempt to kill or take us, what shall we do?"—"That depends upon their Numbers, (replied Malcolm): For if there be no more than four of them, I'll engage to manage two."—"And I'll engage to manage the other two," (said the Pr.)

The Pr. observing to *Malcolm*, that his own [the Pr.'s] Waistcoat was rather too good for a Servant, being a Scarlet Tartan, with a Goldtwist Button, proposed to change with him; which was accordingly done.

As they were approaching near Strath, Mackinnon's Country, the Captain suggested to the Pr. that now he was coming to a Country where he would be known, and therefore might be discovered in every Corner of it, as Mackinnon's Men had been out in his Service; and that therefore he must be more disguised. To do which, the Pr. put on a dirty Napkin, and his Bonnet over it; putting his Wig into his Pocket. "But nothing (says Malcolm) could disguise his majestic Mien and Carriage."

They no sooner were arrived in Strath, than they met two of Mackinnon's Men who had been out with them in the Expedition. They stared at the Pr. and soon knew him; and, with lifted-up Hands, they burst into Tears on seeing him in such Distress. The Captain desired they would take care what they did, and compose themselves;

for otherwise they would discover who the Pr. was by their Concern: Which they complied with as well as they could. And then *Malcolm* swearing them to Secrecy, dismissed them; and they proved faithful.

Being come near the Place they proposed going to, Malcolm told the Pr. that he had a Sister married to one John Mackinnon, a Captain in the Pr.'s Army: And then he advised the Pr. to sit down at a little Distance from the House, whilst he [the Captain] went into the House, and should inquire of his Sister, or her Husband, whether any of their Enemies were in that Neighbourhood in quest of him? and likewise to know, whether he [Malcolm] could be safe there with her; telling the Pr. he was still to pass as his Servant Lewis Caw.

Malcolm went, and found his Sister at home; but her Husband was out: And, after the usual Compliments at meeting, he told her, "That he "was come to stay some little Time there, pro-"vided there was no Party of the military People "about them, and that he could be safe." She gave a suitable Answer; and then he told her, "He had no Person along with him, except one "Lewis Caw, Son of Mr. Caw Surgeon in Crief, "who had been out in the late Affair, and conse-"quently in the same Situation with himself; and "that he was to pass as Malcolm's Servant." She very readily agreed to take him, and Lewis Caw, as the Pr. was called, into the House.

When Lewis entered the House with the Baggage on his Back, and the Napkin on his Head, he took off his Bonnet, made a low Bow, and sat at a Distance from his Master. But the Captain's Sister could not help looking at Lewis, observing something very uncommon about him.

The Captain desired his Sister to give them some Provisions; for he was almost famished with Hunger. The Provisions were soon set out. And then the Captain called to *poor sick Lewis*, to draw near, and eat with him, as there was no Company in the House. *Lewis* seemed very backward, alledging he knew better Manners. But, his Master ordering him again, he obeyed, and drew nearer; but still kept off his Bonnet.

After having got some Refreshment, the Captain desired the Maid-servant to wash his Feet; which being done, he desired her then to wash his Man's. But she replied, "That tho' she had "washed his [the Captain's], yet she would not "wash that lubberly Lown his Servant's." But the Captain told her, "His Servant was not well, "and therefore he asked her to do it." She then undertook it; but rubbed his Feet so hard, that she hurt him very much. On which the Pr. spoke to the Captain in English, to desire her not to rub so hard, nor go so far up with her Hand, he having only a Philibeg on.

After this Refreshment, both the Pr. and the Captain went to sleep. During which Time, the

Captain's Sister went to the top of a Hill, to keep watch, lest they should be surprised.

The Pr. did not sleep above two Hours; though the Captain, being weary, slept much longer. But when he awaked, he saw the Pr. dandling a Child, and singing to it, and seemed as alert as if he had been in Bed all Night. "Who knows (says the "Pr.) but this Boy may hereafter be a Captain in "my Service?"

The Captain being thoroughly awake, and hearing his Brother-in-Law was coming, went out to meet him. After usual Ceremonies, Malcolm asked him, "If he saw those Ships of War (pointing to them) that were at a distance hovering about the Coast?"-" Yes, said Mr. Mackinnon."-"What, says Malcolm, if the Pr. be on board one "of them?"-"God forbid, (replied Mackinnon)." "-" What, said Malcolm, if he was here, John? "do you think he would be safe enough?"--" I "wish we had him here, (replied John); for he "would be safe enough, and nothing would hurt "him here."-" Well then, (replied Makolm), he "is now in your House: But, when you go in, " vou must not take any notice of him, lest the "Servants or others observe you; for he passes "for one Lewis Caw my Servant." -- John promised very fair: But he no sooner saw the Pr. in that Condition, than he burst out into a Flood of Tears; which Malcolm observing, obliged Fohm to retire immediately.

When the Pr. and Malcolm were alone, the Captain desired he would tell him the Perils he had already escaped. Which being told, Malcolm seemed amazed. Upon which the Pr. replied, "This is nothing to what I am to undergo: But Providence will guard me through the whole, as "well as it has hitherto done. What I have undergone, is a Lesson I wish every Pr. underwent before he came to govern; for it would then give him an Insight into the distressed Situation of his Subjects; and be thereby a Means to make him cautious, not wontonly to throw away their Riches."

After much more of this sort of Conversation, they began to consult how the Pr. was to get to the Continent of Scotland; and both agreed not to let the Laird of Mackinnon know of their being there, on account of his being so old. They then called in John Mackinnon, and desired him to go and hire a Boat, as if for Malcolm only; and made John promise not to communicate any thing of what he had heard or seen about them to the Laird, if he and John should chance to meet.

John having his Instructions, set forwards; but, soon meeting with his old Chiestain, he could not refrain letting him into the Secret.

The good old Man hearing John's Relation, ordered him to give himself no Trouble about the Boat; for that he [the Laird] would

provide a good one, and would soon be with the Pr.

70hn returned, and told the Pr. what had happened, and that the Laird would soon be with him. Malcolm then said to the Pr. "As the "Case now stands, it will be best to leave all the "Management to the old Gentleman: who will "be firm to his Trust." The Pr. notwithstanding this, was uneasy at the Thought of parting with his faithful Captain. But Malcolm represented to the Pr. that, as he [the Captain] had been some time absent, the military People might pursue him upon Suspicion; and, if so, he might be the Cause of the Pr.'s being taken also. "But, if I "return, and should be taken Prisoner, (said "Malcolm), which may very likely be the Case, "it will yet enable me to prevent so quick a "Pursuit after you; because, as I am alone, I "can tell my own Tale without being confronted. "and can send them upon a wrong Scent. "myself (continued Malcolm) I care not; but for "you I am much afraid. And, as I can do you "more Service by leaving, than staying with you, "I desire you'll follow the Laird of Mackinnon's "Directions." The Pr. at last consented : and just at that Time the old Gentleman got to them, and told them he had got the Boat ready. Upon which they set out for it directly; being accompanied thither by John Mackinnon also; who even went with his Laird to the

Continent of *Scotland*, and saw the Pr. safe landed there.

As they were on their Way towards the Boat, the Captain espied two Men of War coming towards them with full Sail before the Wind: And thereupon "he intreated the Pr. not to attempt to "go on board at that Time, but to wait till the Men "of War had steered another Course; for just now "[continues Malcolm] the Wind is fair for them, "but against you."—" Never fear, replied the Pr. "I have not had so many Escapes to be catched "here; I'll go on board; and you'll find the "Wind will change immediately, and make those "very Ships steer a contrary Course. Providence "will yet take care of me; and it will not be in "the Power of those Ships to come near me at "this Juncture."

By this time they were got to the Sea-side. And the Pr. being about to step into the Boat, being Eight o'Clock at Night, turned suddenly to Malcolm, and said, "Don't you remember I "promised to meet Murdoch Macleod at such a "Place, naming it?"—"No matter, [said the Captain]; I'll make your Apology: For, as "Necessity drives you another Road, he'll "excuse you."—"That's not enough, (replied "the Pr.) Have you Pen, Ink and Paper "about you, Malcolm? I'll write him a Line "or two; I'm obliged in good Manners to do "so." Accordingly he wrote the following Words.

Sir.

I Thank God, I am in good Health, and have got off as designed. Remember me to all Friends, and thank them for the Trouble they have been at.

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

JAMES THOMPSON.

The Pr. then gave this Letter into the Captain's own Hand, and desired him to deliver it, though open; for he had neither Wax nor Wafer with him.

The Pr. then desired *Malcolm* to light his Pipe. Accordingly the Captain fired a Piece of Tow with his Gun, and held it to the Pipe.

At parting, the Pr. presented Malcolm with a Silver Stock-buckle; embraced and saluted him twice; and, thanking him for what he had done, put ten Guineas into his Hand; which the Captain refused; but the Pr. forced him to take them. Here also, the Pr. having got a better Pipe, had no farther Occasion for the short one, which was black with Use, and which was called the Cutty. This Malcolm took, and some time after gave it to a Friend of his in England.

Having taken leave of Malcolm, the Pr. the oll Laird of Mackinnon, John Mackinnon, (Malcolm's Brother-in-law), and the Boatmen, all went on board in the Evening of Friday the 4th Day of July.

What the Pr. had said to Malcolm about the

Wind soon changing fair, and being spoken with such Confidence, made so great an Impression upon Malcolm, that he was determined to sit down upon a Hill-side, and see the Event. He waited, and does declare, "That the Pr.'s Crew "had not rowed half a Mile, and that towards the "Men of War too, before the Wind chopped "about; and not only blew fair for the Pr. but "blew so brisk a Gale, that it soon drove the "Men of War out of Sight." The Truth of this, both Capt. Malcolm, and those in the Boat, will attest upon Oath, if required.

I must observe here, that it is no difficult Matter, in many Cases, to foretel a speedy Change of the Wind; for almost any Sailor can do that: But what is the most providential for the Pr. is, that it should be about to change at the very identical Time he was going on board.

As the Captain had seen the Pr. in the Height of Prosperity, and in the greatest Adversity, a worthy Clergyman of my Acquaintance asked him his opinion of that young Gentleman. His Answer was, That "the Pr. was the most cautious Man "he ever saw, not to be a Coward; and the "bravest, not to be rash."

Capt. Malcolm returned home again; but was not many Days there, before he was taken Prisoner. He was detained on board a Ship, conveyed into the *Thames*, and, on the 1st of November 1746, was removed to London, and

there kept in the Hands of Mr. William Dick a Messenger, till July 1747; and then was discharged without being asked any Questions. He had cleared himself of taking Arms in behalf of the Pr. by surrendering with his Men, according to the Duke of Cumberland's Proclamation. He and Miss Macdonald returned to Scotland together. All this Account was given by Capt. Malcolm Macleod himself; and was wrote down as he dictated.

I observed, that the Pr. left the Island for the Continent of Scotland the 4th of July, under the Care of the old Laird of Mackinnon. The Night proved tempestuous, and the Coast was very dangerous. They also met a Boat, in which were some armed Militia, with whom they spoke; and, as the Militia did not much exceed their own Number, the Pr. and Crew were resolved to make all the Head they could, and to fight in case they had been attacked. But, in spite of all these Dangers, they landed safe in Moidart, being about thirty Miles from the Place they set out from: and went again to Mr. Angus Macdonald's House at Borodale, changed his Dress, and sent for Macdonald of Glenaladale, of Clanranald's Family.

Many of those who read this Account, will scarce think it possible that the Pr. could have escaped being drowned in so many Storms, when in the open Seas, in such small Vessels; the largest

of which was heavy laden with thirteen Men; and some of them would scarce hold six People.\*

After having landed the Pr. the Laird of Mackinnon took his leave, and set forwards in the same Boat on his Return home; but was taken Prisoner in Morar, in his Passage back, (so close was the Pr. pursued); and was conveyed into the Thames by Sea; and there, partly on board, and partly at Tilbury Fort, was kept a close Prisoner, until he was removed to the new Goal in Southwark, where he was put into Irons; and, in 1747, was removed into the Hands of a Messenger.

Glenaladale, as I observed, being sent for, came; and then informed the Pr. about Lochiel, Keppoch, and others; and that the loss at Culloden, and after the Battle, was not near so great as Sullivan and Oneille had told him.

The Pr. then proposed to go to Lochaber, where he believed his beloved Lochiel was. But, as all the Passes were so closely guarded, it was deemed at that time impracticable. For one Line was formed from Inverness to Fort-Augustus, and from thence to Fort-William, to prevent either the Pr. or any other from escaping; and another Line was formed from the Head of Locharkaig, to prevent

<sup>•</sup> Something like this appears in the Octavo Edition of Anson's Voyage, \$. 375. "The Cutter of a sixty Gun Ship "(being only an open Boat of about twenty two Feet in "Length) was six Weeks on the Ocean, exposed to Storms "and Tempests, and yet weathered it the whole Time."

any passing into or out of Lochaber. The Pr. continued some Days in that Country, being in Glen-Biasdale, about ten Miles from Moidart; and staid, till he heard of the Arrival of Gen. Campbell with 400 Men on one Side of him, and Capt. Caroline Scot with 500 more on the other. They having received Intelligence whereabouts the Pr. was, were forming a Circle round him; and were not two Miles distant from him.

The Pr. then having an Account of this, was advised to go to the Braes of Glenmoriston; and there, and in Lovat's Country, to continue until the Passes should be opened. In this Situation he sent for Mr. Donald Cameron of Glenpane, to be their Guide to the Braes of Locharkaig. He came; and, in the Night, conducted the Pr. very safe through the Guards who were in the Pass; and went so close to their Tents, as to hear every Word that was said, being obliged to creep upon their Hands and Knees. At the same Time, there went with the Pr. Glenaladale, his Brother, and two young Boys, Sons of Angus Macdonald of Boradale.

After this, the Pr. continued his Journey for Glenmoriston's Country. As they were travelling one Day, and having only Glenaladale with him, the latter lost his Purse, with forty Guineas in it, in going about three Miles. He lamented this Misfortune the more, because it was all the Money they had; the Pr. having none left. This Gentleman proposed to go back, and seek for it, saying,

"He was certain he could go the very same Road, 
and should find it." The Pr. opposed it, and desired he would not go back. But all in vain; 
for he was resolute, and accordingly went back; 
desiring the Pr. to wait, and rest himself behind 
the Hill adjoining, till he should return.

The Gentleman being gone, the Pr. was at his Post, meditating upon the Goodness of Providence in preserving him hitherto, though often in the midst of the greatest Dangers; when, at a Distance, he spied a Party of Soldiers advancing. Upon which, he hid himself as well as he could; but yet in such a manner as to see the Soldiers; who went by not far from him, and then went the very Rout where the Pr. and the other Gentleman would have gone, had not the Purse been lost, or had it not been their whole Stock; and then they both must have been taken or killed. Thus, what they were regretting as their very great Misfortune, was the Means of their Preservation. The Pr.

<sup>\*</sup> Something like this we find in the Voyage above mentioned, \$\nabla\$. 412. "Thus were we forced upon [Tinian] the "most desirable and salutary Measures by Accidents which at first we considered as the greatest of Misfortunes: For, "had we not been driven by contrary Winds and Currents "to the Northward of our Course, (a Circumstance which at that time gave us the most terrible Apprehensions), we "should, in all Probability, never have arrived at this de"lightful Island; and consequently we should have missed of that Place where alone all our Wants could be most amply supplied."

watched the Soldiers as far as he could: And then soon after his Friend returned with the Purse; to whom the Pr. communicated what he had seen; and both of them "joined in returning God Thanks" for his Care of them;" and then proceeded on their Way; but not as they had at first proposed.

They got into Glenmoriston very safe; but were almost famished with Hunger, when the Pr. saw a little Hut at a Distance, and some Smoke going out of the Hole in the Roof. "Thither (says he) "will I go, let the Consequence be what it will: "For I had better be killed at once, than be "starved to Death with Hunger; having been "forty eight Hours without Meat." His Friend did all in his Power to dissuade him from it; but he would go.

When they got to the Hut, the Pr. went boldly in, without showing any manner of Concern; and there found six stout lusty Fellows at Dinner upon a large Piece of boiled Beef: A Sight he had been long a Stranger to.

These Men were six noted Thieves, who had made this Hut in that Place for Privacy and Safety, and were not a little amazed at seeing the Pr. go in there. One of them knew the Pr. and also knew he was skulking; but, not thinking it safe to tell the rest of the Company who their new Guests were, had the Presence of Mind, upon seeing the Pr. to cry out, "Ha! Dougal Maccullony, I am "glad to see thee!" The Pr. by this Expression,

found he was known, and with equal Steadiness of Countenance, thanked him, sat down among them, and ate very heartily.

The Pr. his Friend, and the Man who knew the Pr. walked out after Dinner, and then consulted what farther was to be done. And, being informed of the State of the Country about, and of the military People, found it absolutely necessary to wait here for some time; and that the other five Men must be intrusted with the Secret: Which being done, they rejoiced that they had it in their Power to serve the Pr. and proved of great Service, and were very faithful. With these Men, and Glenaladale, the Pr. continued betwixt the Braes of Glenmoriston and Glen-Strath-Ferrar, till the Guards were removed, and the Passes opened.

About this Time, viz. the middle of Fuly, one Rhoderick Mackensie, a Merchant in Edinburgh, who had been out with the Pr. was skulking among the Hills about Glenmoriston, when some of the Soldiers met with him; and, as he was about the Pr.'s Size and Age, and not much unlike him in the Face, was a genteel Man, and well dressed, they took him for the Pr. Mr. Mackensie tried to escape them, but could not; and, being determined not to be taken and hanged (which he knew, if taken, would be his Fate), he bravely resolved to die Sword-in-hand; and, in that Death, to serve the Pr. more than he could possibly do by living. This Bravery and Steadiness of Mr. Mackensie

confirmed the Soldiers in their Belief, that he was the Pr. On which Account one of them shot him; who, as he fell, cried out to them, "You "have killed your Prince! You have killed your "Prince!" and expired immediately. Soldiers, overjoyed with their supposed good Fortune in meeting with so great a Prize, immediately cut off the brave young Man's Head; and made all the haste they could to Fort-Augustus, to tell the News, and to lay claim to the 30,000 l.; producing the Head, which several said they knew to be the Pr.'s Head. This great News was soon carried to the Duke, with the Head; who so far believed the great Work was done, that he set forward, for London, from Fort-Augustus, on the 18th of July; as soon after Mr. Mackensie's Death as he could possibly go. It was about this Head that Kingsborough was asked the Question before mentioned by one of the Captains of the English Forces.

The Soldiers and Militia sent out to take the Pr. and his Adherents, now imagining that he was killed, and his head sent to *London*, began to be less strict, and not to keep so good a Look-out as before; by which means the Pr. escaped from Place to Place with less Danger.

I observed before, that the Pr. continued betwixt the Braes of *Glenmoriston* and *Glen-Strath-*Ferrar, till the Guards were removed, and all the Passes opened. About the Beginning of August, he went with his Retinue (as above) to Lochaber, and to Achnasual on the Side of Locharkaig, two Miles from Achnacarie, the Seat of Lochiel.

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The Pr. and Company had brought no Provisions with them, expecting to be supplied in that Country; where there used to be greater Plenty than whence they had come. But they were greatly disappointed; finding all the whole Country plundered and burnt, and no Cattle, or any other sort of Provisions to be got. In this Distress they remained some time; when, at last, one of the Glenmoriston Men espied a single Hart, and shot him. On this they lived, without Bread or Salt.

The next Day, the Pr. being informed, that Macdonald of Lochgarie, Cameron of Cluns, and Cameron of Achnasual, were in the neighbouring Mountains, sent after them; and, at the same time, sent a Messenger to Lochiel, who was then about twenty Miles off, to let him [Lochiel] know where he [the Pr.] was. Before the Pr. sent to Lochiel, he [Lochiel] had heard also, that it was supposed the Pr. was in the Country; and sent his Brother Doctor Archibald Cameron, and the Rev. Mr. John Cameron, by different Roads, to get all the Intelligence they could of the Pr.

The Person sent by the Pr. to Lochiel, met Dr. Cameron within a few Miles of the Place where Lochiel was; who was obliged to return with two French Officers, whom he had met with; and who were in quest of the Pr. also.

This faithful Person, sent by the Pr. would not own to the Doctor, or to the two French Officers, that he knew any thing about the Pr. his Orders being only to tell it to Lochiel himself; which he punctually obeyed. And, as he said he had Business of the utmost Consequence, the Doctor conducted him, with the two Officers, to Lochiel.

Next Day, Lochiel sent Dr. Cameron, with four Servants, to the Pr. and sent the Officers at the same time, to be under the Care of one of his Friends. till farther Orders.

Mr. Cameron the Minister, whom Lochiel had sent out, to get Intelligence of the Pr. after travelling and searching several Days, went to Achnacarie; where he met with Dr. Cameron going to the Pr. with the four Servants; who, as the River was not fordable, raised a Boat, which Capt. Monro of Culcairn had sunk, after searching the Isle of Locharkaig.

When Culcairn was plundering in this Island, he saw some new-raised Earth; and, imagining there would be either Money or Arms concealed, had it dug up; but only found a Man's Corpse, with a good Holland Shirt on; which made him believe it to be Lochiel. He thereupon sent an Express to the Duke of Cumberland, to tell him that Lochiel was dead of his Wounds. But it really was the Corpse of —— Cameron, Brother of Allan Cameron of Callart; which last was taken at Culloden, and carried to London. However,

rather than have no Plunder, they took the Shirt, and left the Corpse lying on the Ground.

Dr. Cameron and the Minister, observing some Men by the Water-side in Arms, sent some of Cluns's Children to see who they were. They soon found, that they belonged to Cluns; sent the Boat for them; and then sent the four Servants back again to Lochiel; pretending they were going to skulk in the Wood for some Days, and that keeping such a Number together, might be dangerous.

They then crossed the River, and went to the Hut where the Pr. was; which was built on Purpose in a Wood betwixt Achnasual, and the End of Locharkaig. The Pr. and Cameron of Achnasual, upon seeing the Doctor and his Brother at a Distance, and not then knowing who they were, had left the Hut, and went a little from it: But, being soon informed who they were, immediately returned; and then there was a joyful Meeting. And when they told the Pr. that Lochiel was well, and recovered of his Wounds, he returned God Thanks thrice for it, and expressed an uncommon Satisfaction.

The Pr. was at this time bare-footed; had on a dirty Shirt, an old black Kelt Coat, a Plaid, and a Philibeg, and a long Beard, a Gun in his Hand, and a Pistol and Durk by his Side. He was very chearful, and in good Health. They had killed a Cow the Day before, and the Servants were roast-

ing Part of it. At Dinner the Pr. ate heartily of the Beef, and some Bread which they had got from Fort-Augustus; and no Man could sleep sounder than he did. He now began to speak some little Erse.

The Pr. proposed going immediately to Lochiel: But, a Friend telling him, that he saw in the Newspapers, (which they got at the same time they got their Bread), that it was said the Pr. had passed Coriarrick with Lockiel and thirty Men, which probably might occasion a strict Search in those Parts; he therefore resolved to stay some Days longer where he was. However, two or three Days after this, the Pr. sent Lochgary and Dr. Cameron to Lockiel: And then dismissed Glenaladale, to look out for Ships on the West Coast; and the Glenmoriston Men, to return home again. And the Pr. continued in the Hut with Cluns's Children, Capt. Macraw of Glengary's Regiment, one or two Servants, and the Rev. Mr. Yohn Cameron.

The two Officers I mentioned above, who went to Lochiel with Dr. Cameron, came from Dunkirk, in a small Vessel, with sixty other Gentlemen, who had formed themselves into a Company of Voluntiers under the Command of the said two Officers. They got to Pollieu in Seafort's Country; where four of them landed, to deliver their Dispatches. Two of whom were taken Prisoners. vis. one Fitzgerald, a Spanish Officer, whom they hanged at

Fort-William, pretending he had been a Spy in Flanders; the other was called Mons. de Berard, a French Officer, and was after some time exchanged upon the Cartel. The other two wandered in Seafort's Country, till Lockgary, hearing they had Letters for the Pr. sent Capt. Macraw and his own Servant for them, that they might be sent to Lockiel, since the Pr. could not be found. This was about the middle of July.

When they came to Lochiel, some Person told him, these Officers had left their Letters with Alexander Macleod, one of the Pr.'s Aid de Camps. Though this proved true; yet, as they themselves had not told it to Lochiel, it made him suspect them to be the Government's Spies.

The Pr. was very desirous of seeing these Officers: But the Rev. Mr. John Cameron told him what both Lochiel, the Doctor, and he himself were afraid of. Upon which, the Pr. resolved to act in this Affair with great Caution; and said, "He could not help observing, that it probably "might be as they conjectured; because, if they were not Spies, it was surprising that two Men, "without one Word of Erse, and quite Strangers in the Country, could escape the Troops, who "were always in Motion in quest of himself [the "Pr.] and his Followers."

However, as these Officers had told Lockid, that they had never seen the Pr. he [the Pr.] laid a Scheme to see them safely; and therefore he

wrote a Letter himself to them, to this Purpose, vis. "That, to avoid falling into his Enemies "Hands, he was under a Necessity to retire to a "remote Country: where he had no Person with "him, except one Capt. Drummond, and a Ser-"vant: And, as he could not remove from where "he was, without Danger to himself and them, "he had sent Capt. Drummond with this Letter: "and, as he could repose entire Confidence in him, "he desired they would tell whatever Message "they had to the Bearer, Capt. Drummond; and "take his Advice as to their Conduct." This Letter the Pr. proposed to deliver himself, as Capt. Drummond. Accordingly the Officers were sent for, and were introduced to the Pr. under this borrowed Name.

The Pr. then delivered the Letter to them; with which they seemed very well pleased; and told him every thing they had to say; which he afterwards said was of no great Consequence, as his Affairs then stood. They continued there two Days; and asked Capt. *Drummond* many Questions about the Pr.'s Health, his Manner of Living, &c.

The Pr. thinking the Packet left with Mr. Alexander Macleod might be of Use to him, sent for it. But, as it was in Cypher, and directed to the French Ambassador, he could make nothing of them. Lochiel still took care of these Officers, till the Pr. was ready to go away; when they

were conducted to the Ship: And when they saw that they had before conversed with the Pr. in so very free a Manner, taking him then really for Capt. *Drummond*, they were greatly ashamed, and asked his Pardon.

The Pr. and Company continued in this Wood, and in that over-against Achnacarie, (having three Huts in different Places, to which they removed by turns), until about the 10th of August. On which Day, Cluns's Sons, and Mr. Cameron the Minister, went to the Strath of Cluns to get Intelligence.

They were not half an Hour in the Hut which Cliums had built for his Family, (after his House was burnt), when a Child of six Years of Age went out; and, returning hastily, said, "That she "saw a Body of Soldiers." This they could not believe, as Lochgary had promised Lochiel to have a Guard between Fort-Augusius and Cliums's, to give Intelligence.

They went out however, and found all true as the Girl had told. Cluns skulked to observe the Motion of that Party. One of his Sons, and Mr. John Cameron the Minister, went to inform the Pr. who was that Day in one of the Huts on the other Side of the Water Kaig, a short Mile from Cluns's; and, in crossing the Water at the Ford, under Cover of the Wood, and going within Pistol-shot of the Hut, Mr. Cameron observed the Party advancing.

The Pr. was asleep, it being about eight o'Clock in the Morning: Mr. Cameron however awoke him; and told him, that a Body of their Enemies was in Sight. He then arose very composedly, called for his Gun, and sent for Capt. Macraw, and Alexander, (Cinus's Son).

As they had not received Intelligence of this Party's marching out of Fort-Augustus, they concluded that there was some Treachery in the Case; and that they were surrounded on all Sides. However, they were determined, though but eight in Number, that, rather than yield to be butchered by their merciless Euemies, to sell their Lives as dear as they could, in the Defence of their Pr. and to die like Men of Honour.

The Pr. examined all their Guns, which were in pretty good Order; and said, he hoped they should do some Execution before they were killed: "For his part, (he said), he had been bred a "Fowler, and could charge quick; was a tolerable "Marksman; and would be sure of one at least."

They then left the Hut; and marched to a small Hill, above the Wood, from whence they could see a great way up Glenkengie, and not be discovered. They got there unobserved; which was owing to the Wood. The Pr. then sent Cluns and the Minister to take a narrow View of the Party; and resolved that Night to go to the Top of Mullantagart, a high Mountain in the Braes of Glenkengie; and sent one to Cluns and the

Minister, to know what they discovered, or were informed of.

When Cluns and the Minister had got to the Strath of Cluns, the Women told them, that the Party was about 200 of Lord Loudon's Regiment under Capt. Grant of Knockando in Strathspey; that they had carried away ten Milk Cows, which Cluns had bought after he was plundered before; and that they had found out the Hut the Pr. had in the Wood of Tervalt; and said they were gone to fetch Barrisdale's Cattle to the Camp.

In the Evening, Cluns's Son went to his Father from the Pr. and then they all returned, and carried some Whisky, Bread and Cheese; and got to the Pr. about Twelve o'Clock at Night. He was on the Side of the Mountain, without Fire or any Covering. They persuaded him to take a Dram, and made a Fire; which however, they durst not keep above half an Hour, before they extinguished it.

By Day-light, they went up to the Top of the Mountain; where they staid till Eight o'Clock in the Evening, without rising up. The Pr. slept all the Forenoon in his Plaid and wet Stockings; though it hailed. From hence they went that Night to the Strath of Glenkengie; where they killed a Cow, and lived merrily for some Days.

From this Place they went to the Braes of Achnacarie, and waded through the Water of Arkey, which reached up to the Mid-thigh. In

which wet Condition the Pr. lay all Night and next Day, in the open Air; yet catched no Cold.

In a Day or two, Lochgary and Dr. Cameron returned from Lochiel, (to whom they had been sent); and told it as Lochiel's Opinion, that the Pr. would be safer where Lochiel was skulking; which pleased the Pr. very much.

The next Night the Pr. set out with Lockgary, Dr. Cameron, Alexander (Cluss's Son), the Rev. Mr. John Cameron, and three Servants. They travelled in the Night, and slept all the Day, till they got to Lockiel; who was then among the Hills between the Braes of Badenoch and Athol.

The Doctor and his Brother went by another Road on a Message to Badenoch. The Minister returned about the 13th of September; and the next Day was sent South, by Lochiel, to hire a Ship to carry them off, from the East Coast.

The Ship was provided; and one sent to inform the Pr. of it; who, with Lochiel and others, was to go where the Ship then lay. But, before this Messenger got to the Place where the Pr. and Lochiel had been, two of his Friends, who had orders to watch on the West Coast, had been to tell them, that two French Ships were arrived at Moidart.

Upon this the Pr. set out from where they were the Night following; and, at the same Time, sent to inform others who were skulking in different Places. Some arrived at the Place appointed in time; but several, by some Accident or other, had not that good Fortune.

The Pr. reached Moidart on September 19, 1746; and, on the 20th, imbarked on board the Bellona of St. Maloes, a Nants Privateer of 32 Carriage and 12 Swivel Guns, and 340 Men, brought hither by Col. Warren of Dillon's Regiment, who went on purpose for a Vessel. The Pr. after seeing his Friends all on board both the Ships, then imbarked himself; set sail immediately for France; where he landed safely at Roscort, near three Leagues West of Morlaix, on the 29th of the same Month, having had a pleasant Voyage; though narrowly escaping Admiral Lestock's Squadron, who were then upon the Coast of Bretagne.

The Bellona was afterwards taken, on the 2d of February following, by three Men of War, viz. the Eagle, the Edinburgh, and the Nottingham.

From the above Account we find, that the Pr. was twice in danger of being shot; and five times in danger of being drowned, being in great storms in little open Boats; nine times pursued, and in sight of the Men of War, and armed Vessels; many times in danger of being taken, often seeing his Pursuers, and sometimes being within hearing of what they said; six times miraculously escaped being taken.

He was often almost famished for want of Meat and Drink; and must have starved inevitably, had he not found the Fish at the desert Island of Euirn or Ifurt, and if one of the Gleamoriston
Men had not found and shot the Hart.

He was mostly obliged to lie in miserable Huts, or on Mountains; having no other bed than the bare Ground or Heath, and without any other Covering than the Dews or Rains. And add to all these, that he had frequent Returns of the Bloody Flux.

Thus, Reader, you have a faithful Account of the whole Escape, taken from the Authorities which are already mentioned. And this Account. since the Pr.'s Return to the Continent of Scotland. is chiefly taken from the Journal of the Rev. Mr. John Cameron, Presbyterian Minister, and Chaplain to Fort-William; who, you find, has been much with the Pr. I shall therefore conclude with his own Words, vis.: "I have told you what I "was witness to, or informed of by such as I could " absolutely depend upon. I shall only add, that "the Pr. submitted with Patience to his adverse "Fortune: was chearful: and frequently desired "those who were with him, to be so. He was "cautious when in the greatest Danger; never at "a loss, in resolving what to do, with uncommon "Fortitude. He regretted more the Distress of "those who suffered for adhering to his Interest, "than the Hardships and Dangers he was hourly "exposed to. To conclude, He possesses all the "Virtues that form the Character of A TRUE " HERO and A GREAT PRINCE."

The Pr. after landing at Roscort, proceeded on his Journey to Paris; where the Chateau St. Antoine was fitted up for his Reception. He was scarce well arrived here, when he went to Versailles, and was there received by the King and Queen of France with all the Marks of the most tender Affection, and seeming Demonstrations of Joy. At different times he related to them the chief of his Sufferings; and they seemed to be greatly affected with the melancholy Story; and endeavoured to comfort him with fair Promises. But the Memory of his Disappointment was vet too recent, and the News which was continually arriving, of the Commitments, Trials and Executions of some of the most faithful of his Followers, filled him with an Anxiety not easily to be removed; and left but little Room for pleasurable Ideas.

This was only a private Visit: Therefore it was thought necessary for him to make his Compliments to the King and his Court in Form, and in the Character which he had borne by Commission from his Father. This he did in about ten Days after.

The French soon raised some new Regiments wholly composed of English, Scots, and Irish; and the Command of one of them was given to Lord Ogilvie; and of another, to young Lochiel. This, and several other Methods, the French took to sooth the Pr. and to make him subservient to their Purpose. But though he saw through their

whole Designs, he could not help himself as Affairs then stood. Therefore he put on a Mask, as well as the French Ministry; and looked upon all their Promises to be made with no Intention of being performed.

In France, the Pr. amused himself with Plays, Operas, paying and receiving Visits, &-c.; and, after being there some time, he made a Tour to Madrid incog. What his Business was there, and what Success he met with, remains as yet a Secret. However, it is well known, he was greatly caressed there. His Stay at Madrid was about five or six Days; and then, after making a Tour of near four Months, he returned to Paris.

Whatever Disappointments the Pr. met with, nothing chagrined him more than his Brother's Acceptance of a Cardinal's Hat, which happened about this Time. His Discontent at this was so great, that he forbade all who were about him ever to mention his Brother in his Presence; and he always omitted drinking his Health at Meals, as heretofore he had done.

In this Situation all things seemed to go on, till the Negotiation for Peace was advancing; when the Pr. had a fair Opportunity of throwing off the Mask, which he had so long wore; and then hired a fine Hotel on the Kay de Theatin, opposite to the Louvre on the Banks of the Seyne, for himself and the chief of his Retinue, on Purpose, as he said, to be near the Opera and Playhouse, and

other Diversions of *Paris*; to some of which he generally went every Evening.

During this Time, he neither went so frequently, nor staid so long at *Versailles*, as he had been accustomed to do; and rather avoided, than sought any private Conferences with the King. The first publick Indication he gave of his Disgust, was, to cause a great Number of Medals, both of Silver and Copper, to be cast with his Head, and this Inscription,

## CAROLUS WALLIÆ PRINCEPS.

And, on the reverse, BRITANNIA, and Shipping, with this Motto.

## AMOR ET SPES, BRITANNIÆ.

Every body was surprised at the Device, as France was reduced to the Condition of making Peace, entirely by the Bravery and Success of the British Fleet. This Device gave great Offence to the French Ministry, and to several of the Nobility and others.

Soon after the French Plenipotentiaries were set out to meet those of other Powers at Aix-la-Chapelle, in order to open the Congress, the Pr. entered his Protest there against all that should be concerted or agreed upon in that, or any other Congress, in prejudice to his Title and Pretentions.

After signing the Preliminaries, the Pr. wen no more to Court; but appeared far from being disconcerted at this Event, and was not the least shocked; but seemed determined to contemn his Fate, instead of complaining of the Severity of it; and kept his Resolution to the End, even in the midst of the most shocking and unexpected Trials.

As, by one of the Articles of Peace, the Pr. was obliged to leave *France*, the King wrote a Letter to the States of *Friburg*, desiring they would receive him in a Manner becoming his Birth, and as a Prince who was very dear to him.

Neither the one nor the other had any Effect on the Deportment of the young Hero. He continued to live as a Person wholly disinterested, and regardless of what was doing, till the King, who had doubtless expected he would have gone of his own accord, but finding he did not, ordered Cardinal *Tencin* to acquaint him of the Necessity there was for his Departure.

This the Cardinal did in the most tender Manner; but he received such evasive Answers from the Pr. that he could not give the King any positive Account whether he would go or not.

The King, however, waited about fourteen Days; when, being informed that the Pr. made not the least Preparation for his Departure, sent the Duke de Gesures with a Message of the same Nature as before. The Pr. only replied, "That

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"he had so little expected such a Step would be "taken, that he had not yet sufficient Time to "consider how to behave in it."

This Answer produced a Delay of another Fortnight; when the Duke de Gesures was sent a second Time; and, on his expatiating that the King was under the Necessity of executing this Article of the Treaty, the Pr. replied with some Warmth, "That there was a prior Treaty between "himself and the King; from which he could "not depart with Honour.—It was in vain the Duke urged him to be more explicit. The other only bid him deliver what he had said to the King; who would know his Meaning.

Notwithstanding these Messages were no Secret. the Pr. shewed so little Intention to leave Paris. that his People bought several Pieces of new Furniture for his House. Among other Persons, he sent for the King's Goldsmith, who had been employed by himself before, and ordered him to make a Service of Plate to the Value of 100,000 Crowns, to be ready against a particular Day he mentioned; which the Goldsmith promised not to fail in. But it so happned, that, immediately after, he received Orders to prepare such a large Quantity for the King's Use against that Time, that he found it impossible to comply with both. On which he waited on the Pr. and intreated he would allow him some few Days longer, telling him the Occasion. But he would not admit of

the Excuse; insisting on being first served, as he had given the first Orders.

The Goldsmith was in a very great Dilemma on this Occasion; but thought the most prudent Way to extricate himself out of it, would be, to acquaint the King; who no sooner heard the Storythan he commanded that the Pr. should be first served; and that the Value of the Plate should be paid by the Comptroller of his Houshold, without any Expense to the other.

It is supposed, the King imagined the Hurry the Pr. shewed for having this Plate got ready by such a Time, was occasioned by his designing to leave *Paris* on that Day; for not till above a Week after it had been delivered were any more Messages sent to him.

But it is plain the Pr. was so far from any such Intention, that he resolved to push Things to the last Extremity.—This fine Service of Plate was on the Score of a grand Entertainment he made; at which were present the Princess of Talmont, a near Relation to the Queen; the Marchioness de Sprimont; Madam de Maisciuse; the Duke de Bouillion; and above thirty others of the Nobility of both Sexes; and several Foreigners of great Distinction.

About this time, the two Hostages from *Great Britain* arrived at *Paris*. On which the Prince expressed great Marks of Dissatisfaction; often saying publickly, "That the Tables were sadly

"turned upon poor Old England; since her Word 
"could not be relied upon, without such Pledges 
"as are scarce ever granted, but by a conquered 
"Nation; while French Faith passed current for 
"all that was to be done on her Part,"

The French Court, having received repeated Complaints from the English Ministry, because the Pr. was not removed, thought proper to remind him once more what was expected from him: Accordingly the Duke de Gesures waited on him a third Time; and acquainted him also, that the States of Friburg had returned a most obliging Answer to the King's Letter on his Account; and were ready to receive the Honour of his going to reside in their Canton with all the Demonstrations of Respect due to his Birth and Virtues, and in their Power to give. To this the Pr. replied only, "That he hoped to find a Time "to return the Good-will of the States:" without giving the Duke any Satisfaction, whether he accepted their offer or not.

The King on this dispatched a Courier to his Father; and the Court being willing to wait the Result of this, occasioned a farther Delay.

As no Part of these Proceedings were a Secret, there was scarce any thing else talked of in *Paris*; and amongst the Body of the People of all Degrees, for one that blamed the Pr.'s Conduct in this point there were more than a hundred applauded it.

Two of the distinguished Characteristicks of the French Nation being, the Envy they are apt to conceive of the Excellence of any Person not born amongst them, and their implicit Love and Reverence even to idolizing their Sovereign; we must be obliged to confess, that the Merits they vouchsafed to acknowledge in a Foreigner, must be extraordinary indeed; and that he who is capable of rivaling their King in their Affection and Respect, must have something of a superior Dignity about him.

The Ministry could not brook this, and were resolved to get rid of the Pr. at any rate; and therefore, without waiting for the Return of the Courier from *Rome*, prevailed upon the King to send the Duke *de Gesvres* a fourth time to him, and insist on his immediate Removal.

The Pr. now expressed some Impatience; and told the Duke, that though he should always treat with Respect any one who came to him from the King, yet he was sorry to find he had the Trouble of repeating so often a Business to which he could give no Ear, without hearing it from the King himself. The King, being acquainted with this, and being impatient to get rid of the Pr. at any rate, and as yet loth to proceed to Extremities, vouchsafed to write a Letter to him; and sent with it a blank Order, to be filled up by himself, for what yearly Sum he pleased; Both which the Duke de Gesures was obliged to deliver.

The Pr. read the Letter twice over; and, having paused a little, threw the Order from him with Disdain; saying, the Thing required of him was not consistent with Honour.

This ambiguous Proceeding, both perplexed and exasperated the King. A Council was called; and therein it was resolved to send Monsieur le Count de Maurepas, to expostulate with the Pr. on his late Conduct; and not to leave him, till he had obliged him to declare in express Terms, what his Intention was; and withal to intimate to him, that, if he did not conform to the present Necessivy of Affairs, by leaving the Kingdom with a good Grace, the Ministry would be obliged to compel him to it.—"The Ministers! The Ministers!" (cried the Pr. with the greatest Disdain). If "you will oblige me, Monsieur le Count, tell the "King, that I am born to break all the Schemes "of his Ministers."

It is supposed the Pr. had a double View in acting in the Manner he did: First, to convince Europe, that the most solemn Engagements had been entered into between him and the Court of France, and were all broken on their Part; and, secondly, to show the Court, that he was not to be any farther imposed upon; and resented as he ought the Artifices they had practised upon him.

The Courier, being at length arrived, brought a Letter from the Pr.'s Father to him, inclosed in one to the King, open, as it is said, for the King's

Perusal. It is said, the Letter contained a Command to the Pr. to leave the French Dominions, but without mentioning the Time when. And for that Reason the Pr. thought himself at liberty to stay where he was, till he had fixed on a proper Place for his future Residence, as he had some Reluctance to go to Friburg.

The Ministry, not knowing the Pr.'s real Motives for staying, prevailed upon the King to give Orders for his being arrested: And, when the Order was carried to be signed, the King said, "Poor Prince! how difficult it is for a King to be "a true Friend!" This seems to shew, the King was ignorant of the unworthy Treatment the Pr. received, when in the Hands of those commissioned to arrest him. This Order, signed but at Three o'Clock, was blazed all over Paris before Evening. Twelve hundred Guards were drawn out, and

Twelve hundred Guards were drawn out, and placed in the Court of the Palace-Royal; a great Number of Serjeants and Grenadeers, armed capa-pee, filled the Passages of the Opera-house; the Guet (i.e. the Street-guards) were placed in the Streets leading to it: Yet, notwithstanding all this, the Duke de Biron, who is Colonel of the Guards, and had Charge of executing this Commission, would not appear, but kept at a Distance disguised, and left it to the Care of Major Vandreville, a Man of mean Extraction, and more mean Merit, who had been raised by him to that Post. The Manner of this whole Transaction is fully and

minutely related in the following Extract of a Letter from *Paris*, dated *December* 21. 1748, to a Person at *London*.

— I would not acquaint you of this odd Scene, till the Confusion was a little settled; and that I could inform you of the Circumstances with more Certainty.

As the Pr. was determined not to leave France, till forced to it by Violence, he was consequently in daily Expectations of being arrested; and accordingly had secured all his Papers, Plate, and such Things as he thought not proper to trust to the French Mercy.

Some Hours before the Pr. was taken, several Streets of Paris were beset with Companies of the Guards; and such Precautions were taken, as if there was a real Danger of some sudden Rising for his Defence. This Precaution seemed necessary in some measure; because, on Saturday the 7th, the Pr. was at the Play, where he was universally clapped at his Entrance, and applauded by all for his brave Answers to the King's Orders to him to quit the French Dominions; into which he had been invited from Italy, &.c. &.c. This general Applause of the People is believed to have hastened his being seized. The Pr. being informed, by a Friend, of the Motions, and placing the Guards, only calmly replied, "Well then, if it be so, we will "not let them stay for us;" and so immediately went to the Opera, being on Tuesday the 10th.

He was arrested, in entering the Opera-house, by six lusty Fellows, who had Cuirasses under their Coats. They seized his Sword, and small Pocket-pistols, which he always carried for his own Security. They tied his Arms, Thighs, and Legs with Cords; and, lifting him off the Ground, put him into a Coach, attended by the Major, Aid-Major, and another Officer of the Blue-guards, and four Serjeants behind the Coach. In this Equipage he was carried to the Castle of Vincennes, the whole Road being crowded with Guards. He behaved on the Road to Vincennes with all the Composure imaginable; and, finding the Aid-Major had been in Italy, talked to him about several Places in that Country.

At his Arrival at the Castle, seeing his intimate Friend and old Acquaintance the Governor approaching to him, he cried out, Mon ami chatelet, venes done m'embrasser, puisque je ne puis pas vous embrasser; that is, My Friend, come then to embrace nee, because I can't embrace you, (alluding to his Cords wherewith he was tied). The Governor then, in the most tender and respectful Manner, unbound him, and conducted him to a small Room of about ten Feet square, with a small Light which descends from the Top. Upon the Sight of this Apartment, he only said, "He had seen a worse "in Scotland."

Three Captains of the Guards were always with him, Night and Day. They, by their Tears,

testified their Concern, and shewed him all the Respect due to his Rank.

The first Night he did not eat, saying, "He had "dined well;" nor did he sleep, till the next Morning (being Wednesday the 11th), when he flung himself, in his Cloaths, upon the Bed, and got a good Nap. The same Day he did not dine: But, at five o'Clock in the Evening, the Governor brought him some Broth, with three Bits of Bread, which he begged him to take; and the Pr. complied, and ordered his supper to be ready at Eight o'Clock. He ate very heartily, though it disagreed with him afterwards, as having overfasted himself.

On Thursday the 12th, he dined very well; and continued his Meals regularly, ate heartily, and was in good Health till he was released.

On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the Governor went to the King's Levee; but carried back no Orders for amending his Prisoner's Condition.

On Friday Morning the 13th, the Pr. wrote to the King; and in the Evening received his Answer: And, on Saturday Morning, he got another Letter, and in the Afternoon had Liberty to walk in the Gardens, &c.; where he staid some Hours, and then returned to his Dungeon to pass his last Night there. The Contents of these Letters are not yet known.

On Sunday the 15th, at Seven o'Clock in the Morning, he departed from Vincennes for Foun-

tainbleau in a Coach, with the Commandant of the Musquetairs, accompanied by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Stafford in two Post-chaises.

On Monday the 16th, in the Morning, the Pr. wrote again to the King, and received an immediate Answer.

On Tuesday Morning, at Four o'Clock, having eaten three fresh Eggs, he set out from thence, with the aforesaid Company, to hasten out of France. But where he will stop, and take up his Residence, is yet a Mystery.

Sixty Musquetairs were appointed to guard him on the Road: But, as he assured the King there was no Necessity for them, they staid behind.

During his Captivity, he never showed the least Impatience, in Looks, Words, or Actions; but bore up with that Magnanimity of Spirit, which gained him the Admiration of every one, and proves him a Hero in every Scene of Life. He was affable in the most gracious Manner to the Governor, and the three Captains of the Guards: And, when he saw them in any Concern on his account, he even revived them with his Gaiety; and always forced them to sit at Table, and eat with him.

The Castle of *Vincennes*, all the Time of the Pr.'s Residence, was strongly guarded by the Grenadeers and Blue Guards: And the Drawbridges were lifted up both Day and Night.

So much for the Pr. who was no sooner arrested, than the Lieutenant de Police, with 150 Guards,

were ordered to his House: But finding the Doors shut, were preparing Ladders, when some of them finding a Back-door, broke it open, entered triumphantly, and seized every Person there, even to the Scullion; and ate the Supper which was preparing for the Pr.

At the same time, Sir David Murray, Sir James Harrington, Mr. Goring, Mr. Stafford, Mr. Sheridan, and others, both English, Scots, and Irish, of the Pr.'s Adherents, to about forty, were arrested in different Parts of the Town, and were all conducted, in the Night, to the Bastile; but were treated very well in all Respects, excepting their Confinement.

The Pr.'s Fronch Servants were set at liberty the next Day: And, before he left Vincennes, he ordered them to be all paid off, and dismissed.

On Friday the 13th, at Night, Mess. Stafford and Sheridan were released, to prepare for their Journey with the Pr. against Sunday Morning.

The rest of the Gentlemen were all dismissed on the 19th, at Eight o'Clock at Night; when Sir James Harrington and Mr. Goring received Orders to quit Paris immediately; but gained leave afterwards to stay till the 24th, when, it is supposed, they'll follow the Pr. The others were left at their own Liberty, to do as they pleased.

At present, there only remains at the Pr.'s House proper People to pay off all Bills, and to pack up such Things as he did not before think necessary to be removed.

The Pr. from Fountainbleau, proceeded on his Journey to Avignon; where having staid some Weeks, he left it incog. taking along with him Col. Goring, and three other Domesticks.

I shall now endeavour to give a short Account of what became of some of those who helped to compose the Pr.'s Army.

Lochiel, being wounded in both Legs, was carried off the Field by four of his Men, and put into a Barn. As these Men were taking off his own Cloaths, and putting on others to disguise him, a Party of Dragoons surrounded the Barn; but were called off suddenly, just as they were going into it.

The Dragoons were no sooner gone, than his Men removed him, set him on Horseback, and carried him that Night to Cluny's House in Badenoch, where he continued till next Morning; and then went to Lockaber. When he left the Barn, he dismissed two of the Men; but kept the other two to hold him on Horseback.

On the Friday after the Battle of Culloden, the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, Marquis of Tullibardine, Lord George Murray, Lord Ogilvie, Col. Stewart of Ardsheil, Col. John Roy-Stewart, Lord Nairne, several of the Drummonds, and Capt. James Hay, were at Ruthven in Badenoch. Lord

George Murray proposed then to get Meal to be brought into that Country, and to collect their Troops again, and to hold out, in order to obtain Terms: But no Person would pay any Regard to what he said or did, being so greatly disgusted at his haughty Behaviour in general, and at his Conduct about the Battle of Culloden in particular. He said many Things in his own Justification; and told them, "He would clear up his Character in "Black and White;" which was some time after handed about. Lord George declared at this Place, "That he was against fighting that Day, and was "for crossing the Nairn; but Sullivan opposed it: "And that Sullivan used to carry things in Coun-" cils of War against him."

Some of these Gentlemen began to disperse that Night; and the rest next Day. The Duke of Perth and Lord John Drummond went directly for Moidart, where they soon after embarked on board a Ship for France, along with Lord Elcho, Capt. James Maxwell, and several others, who all got safe thither, except the Duke of Perth, who died two Days after he went on board. Lord John is also since dead, and his Regiment was given to Lord Lewis Drummond.

The Marquis of *Tullibardine* was soon after betrayed; and carried to the Tower of *London*, where he died; and was buried in St. *Peter's* Church. He was not in the Battle of *Culloden*, being then very ill.

Lord George Murray was concealed in Scotland till December after the battle of Culloden; and then, after being a little time in Edinburgh, went on board a Vessel at Anstruther, and got to France; and never was in England after that Battle, though some have strongly asserted it.

Lord Ogitvie, Lord Nairn, Col. Stewart of Ardshiel, Col. John Roy-Stewart, and the Drummonds, all got to France: Since which, Col. Roy-Stewart died. Capt. Hay, as being a French Officer, surrendered to the Lord Justice-Clerk at Edinburgh; was thence removed to Carlisle, where he was tried, and condemned for High Treason: But, being an Officer in the French Service, was soon discharged.

At a Meeting, held on the 15th of May, at Murtleg, or rather Murlagan, in the Isle of Morar, near the Head of Locharkaig, there were present, Lord Lovat, Lochiel, Major Kennedy, Glenbucket, Lochgary, Mr. Alexa der Macleod, Dr. Cameron, John Roy-Stewart, Barrisdale's Son, Secretary Murray, and others, to about thirteen. And it was then proposed and agreed to, That they should assemble their Men at Glenmallie, and cross Locky. where Cluny and Keppoch's Men should join them. Lord Lovat's Opinion was, to raise about 3500 Men to defend the Country, Families, and Cattle, as well as themselves; and the particular Number that each was to provide was agreed upon. Lord Lovat was to send 400 Men; and that Lord's Servant had ten Days Pay for these Men given him.

The Meeting being over, Lochiel and Murray crossed the Lake again: And, about four or five Days after this, Murray crossed the Lake again to Glendesherrie, on the opposite Side of the Water, to Lord Lovat; and was with that Lord an Hour or two.

The general Rendezvous was to be near Keppoch's House. Lochiel's, Barisdale's, and Clanranald's People were to meet at the Lake, about two Miles from Lochiel's House.

About ten Days after this, Lochiel accordingly got a body of 3 or 400 Men, Barisdale and Lochgary went with about 150 Men each; but as soon as Lochgary got Pay for his Men, he went away, promising to return in a few Days, and to observe Lord Loudon's Motions. But he performed neither: For that Earl, about two Days after the Men were got together, marched through Glengary, and had certainly taken Lochiel, but for some of his Scouts. Barisdale, before Loudon went to Achnacarie, Lochiel's House, told Lochiel he would go and bring more Men to them; and left his Son with a few.

Early in the Morning, a body of Men appeared marching over a Hill, whom Lochiel believed to be Barisdale's Men; but some of his Scouts went and told him, they were Loudon's People; for they had red Crosses on their Bonnets. Upon this Lochiel dispersed his Men and crossed the Loch in a Boat; which he had kept to prevent his being surprised: So that he owed his Escape

more to the red Crosses, than to the Care of Lochgary, or to the Honesty of Barisdale.

Lord Lovat and some others took different Routs. Secretary Murray and some others staid with Lockiel, till they got to Lochleven, near Glencoe; and, after being there some Time, Sir David Murray, Secretary Murray, Dr. Cameron, and the Rev. Mr. John Cameron, went from thence to Glenlyon; and continued there twelve or fourteen Days. From that Place they went to Glenochie; where Secretary Murray was taken very ill, and desired they should return. So Sir David Murray went South, and Capt. Macnab went with him to the Braes of Balquhidder, and provided him a Horse and Cloaths; and the rest returned to Lochiel again.

Sir David went as far as Whitby in Yorkshire; where he was taken Prisoner in trying to get off; and was sent to York, where he was tried and condemned; but was afterwards reprived; and was discharged on August 7. 1748, upon Condition, that he should quit these Realms for Life.

After staying a little time with Lochiel, Secretary Murray went Southwards, and was at Mr. Hunter's of Polmood, his Brother-in-Law, on the 28th of June after the Battle of Culloden, being about four Miles from his own House at Broughton, in the great Road to England, by Carlisle. The Evening of the Night that he was taken, a Boy went from his Brother's to Broughton, where a Party of

Soldiers were, and told them, to ground and take him; which in the Night they did, and next Day set forwards with him for Edinburgh; where, when he arrived, he was so drunk that he could not speak to the Lord Justice Clerk till after a few Hours Sleep; and then he was committed to the Castle, where he remained till sent up to London under a strong Guard, and was immediately close confined till after he had given Evidence against Lord Lovat; and then was removed thence into the Custody of a Messenger, and about Christmas 1747 was discharged.

When they were going to remove him from Edinburgh, his Mother wrote to a certain Countess, to desire her Assistance, to raise a Party in York-shire to attempt to rescue her dear Son. But the Lady was so provoked at it, that she burnt the Letter immediately in great Wrath.

The rest of the History of Lochiel, Dr. Cameron, and his Brother the Minister, I have given in the Pr.'s Escape. The other Gentlemen all got safe abroad. Lochiel got safe to France, and was there made a Colonel of 1000 Men; which he enjoyed to his Death, in September 1748; when it was given to Sir Hector Maclean aforementioned to have been so long confined in Newgate. Dr. Cameron was wounded at Culloden by a Musketbullet, which entered near the Elbow (he having his arm up) and went along the Arm, and then out at the opposite Shoulder.

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